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THE CHIN HILLS

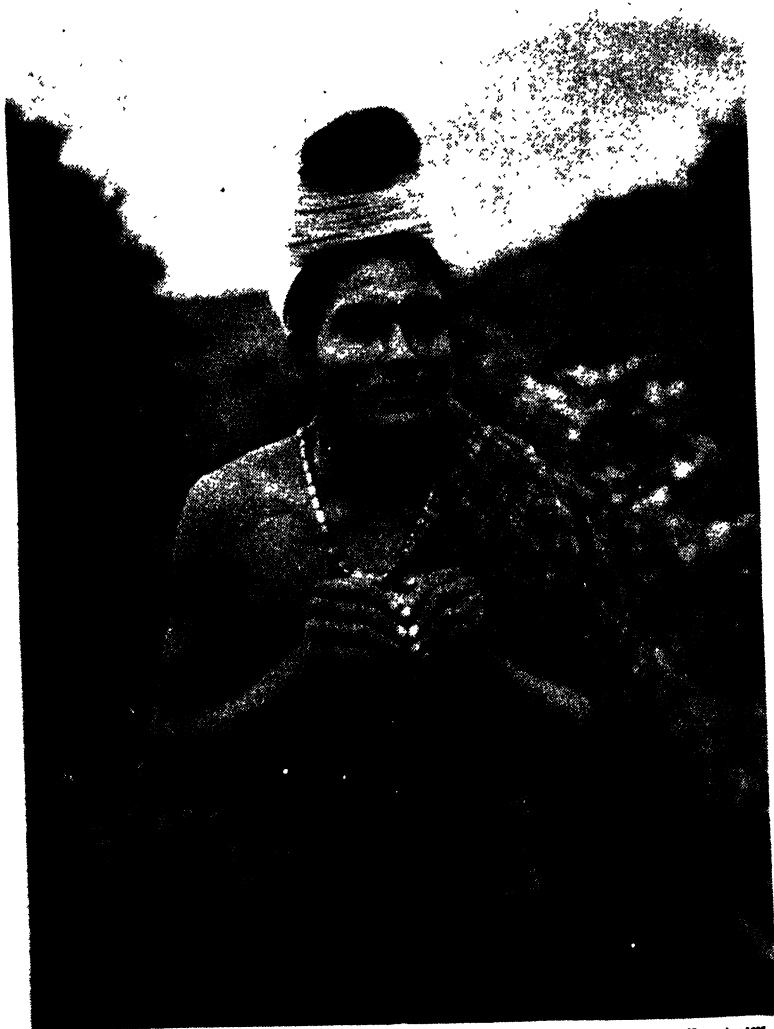


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18. TYPE OF HAKA CHIN.

THE CHIN HILLS

**A History of the people, British dealings with them,
their Customs and Manners, and a Gazetteer of their Country**

BY

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P R E F A C E.

THIS history of the Chin Hills and their inhabitants has been written in order that the information and experience which we gained during the first years of the occupation of the tract should not be lost, and with the hope that the book will be of assistance to Frontier Officers, both Civil and Military.

It was commenced in the last week of October 1894 and finished in the following April, during which time an expedition was undertaken in addition to current duties. Much of the work has, therefore, necessarily been done at odd times, in camp, by night, and in fact whenever we could snatch spare moments.

In those chapters which deal with the "ancient history" of the Lushais and Chins, we have borrowed from the pages of Sir Alexander Mackenzie's work, "The North-Eastern Frontier of Bengal."

We desire to acknowledge the help which we have received in the matter of road reports from the Intelligence Department, and also to thank Major Keary, D.S.O., Surgeon-Major Newland, I.M.S., and Mr. E. O. Fowler of the Burma Police, for the assistance which they afforded us in our labours.

We likewise mention the names of Major Rundall, D.S.O., Captain D. J. C. Macnabb, and Mr. P. F. Sherman, whose notes and reports have been made use of, and also would place on record, in connection with this book, the name of Myoök Maung Tun Win, who took a prominent part in gathering information concerning the Northern Chins and who lost his life at their hands in the performance of his duties.

For the photographs which illustrate the book we are indebted to Surgeon-Major Newland and to Sergeant Sinclair of the Queen's Own Sappers and Miners.

FALAM, CHIN HILLS: }
The 7th April 1895. }

B. S. C.
H. N. T.

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THE CHIN HILLS.

A History of the People, our dealings with them, their Customs and Manners, and a Gazetteer of their Country.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE.

THE Himalayas from the north of Assam shoot out a chain of spurs, which, running due south, eventually dive into the Bay of Bengal. Captain Yule, who went as Secretary to the Envoy to the Court of Ava in 1855, thus described this chain and its inhabitants:—

“Still further westward in the Naga country, between longitude 93° and 95°, a great multiple mass of mountains starts southwards from the Assam chain. Enclosing first the level alluvial valley of Manipur, at a height of 2,500 feet above the sea, it then spreads out westward of Tipperah and the coast of Chittagong and Northern Arakan, a broad succession of unexplored and forest-covered spurs, inhabited by a vast variety of wild tribes of Indo-Chinese kindred known as Kukis, Nagas, Khyenes, and by many more specific names. Contracting to a more defined chain, or to us more defined, because we know it better, this meridian range still passes southward under the name of Arakan Yoma-doung, till 700 miles from its origin in the Naga wilds it sinks in the sea hard by Negrais, its last bluff crowned by the golden Pagoda of Modain, gleaming far to seaward, a Burmese Sunium. Fancy might trace the submarine prolongation of the range in the dotted line of the Prepara, the Cocos, the Andamans, the Nicobars, till it emerges again to traverse Sumatra and the vast chain of the Javanic Isles.”

From the southern borders of Assam and Manipur, latitude 24° approximately, these hills are now known to us as the Chin-Lushai tract and the inhabitants by the generic names of Chins and Lushais. This Chin-Lushai tract is bounded on the north by Assam and Manipur, on the south by Arakan, on the east by Burma, and on the west by Tipperah and the Chittagong hill tracts.

When Yule wrote the above description of the Chin-Lushai tract it was described on the maps as “undefined” and “unsurveyed.” Southern Lushai had not as yet been penetrated by Lewin; the Northern Lushais knew Assam only as a good raiding field; McCulloch had not gained his control over the Chins on the southern border of Manipur; the British Government had not yet assumed the direct administration of the Arakan Hill Tracts, which Colonel Phayre (Sir Arthur Phayre) eleven years later described as being as little known to the British Government as the tribes of Central Africa before the days of Burton, Speke, and Grant; the Government at Ava was indifferent to the ravages on the western border of Burma; and lastly the Rajah of Tipperah had to look to the British to check the forays of his trans-border men.

It is intended in this volume to write only about Chins, but the reader will find it convenient to understand something of the neighbouring tribes and their country as we now know them, and of their former history; he

will then recognize in the names of the existing tribes and clans those vague general and colloquial appellations by which the Chins have been classified in ancient records and in recent gazetteers.

Our closer connection with the Chins and Lushais during the last five years does not appear to have taught us anything more than we knew twenty years ago of the ethnology of the Chins. Yule in 1855 described the Chins and Lushais as "of Indo-Chinese kindred, known as Kukis, Nagas, Khyenes, and by many more specific names." Colonel Hannay identified the Chins with the Nagas of the Assam mountains and states that they must be closely allied to the Kukis. In 1866 Colonel Phayre classified the Chins living on the north of Arakan as Indo-Chinese. Mr. Taw Sein Kho, Burmese Lecturer at Cambridge, in a pamphlet on the Chins and Kachins bordering on Burma, wrote :—

"Ethnically these tribes belong to that vaguely defined and yet little understood stock, the Turanian, which includes among others the Chinese, Tibetans, Manchus, Japanese, Annamese, Siamese, Burmese, and the Turks. The evidence of language, so far as it has been studied, leaves little doubt that ages ago China exercised much influence on these Turanian races, whose habitat, it is said, included the whole of at least Northern India before its conquest by the Aryans."

Mr. McCabe of the Assam Commission, whose service has been spent amongst Nagas, Lushais, and the other hill tribes of the province of Assam, designates the Chin-Lushai family as Indo-Chinese. Captain Forbes calls the race Tibeto-Burman. Mr. B. Houghton, of the Burma Commission, in an essay on the language of the Southern (Sandoway) Chins and its affinities in 1891, writes—

"As a mere conjecture of the original habitat, &c., of these races the following may be hazarded. At first the stocks of the Dravidian, Chinese, Tibetan, and other races may have lived together in Tibet or perhaps a good distance to the west of it. The Dravidian hordes first started on the immigration, some entering India by the northern passes and some perhaps by the north-west. Some time after them the Chinese separated themselves and went to the east, occupying gradually their present country, this separation occurring at least 3,000 years ago, if the supposition may be trusted that about that time the Chinese altered the old pronunciation of their numerals. After the departure of the Chinese smaller hordes from time to time poured into India, the largest being the Burman one, which, perhaps by the pressure of the newly arrived Aryans, was forced into Burma. The hillmen of Arakan I would regard as rather later immigrations."

In the Burma Census Report of 1891 Chin ethnology is dismissed with the remark that the Chins or Kyins are a group of hill tribes, all talking various dialects of the same Tibeto-Burman speech and calling themselves by various names. Without pretending to speak with authority on the subject, we think we may reasonably accept the theory that the Kukis of Manipur, the Lushais of Bengal and Assam, and the Chins originally lived in what we now know as Thibet and are of one and the same stock; their form of government, method of cultivation, manners and customs, beliefs and traditions all point to one origin. As far as the Chins are concerned, we know from our own experience, as well as from the records of Manipur, that the drift of migration has changed and is now towards the north. The Nwitè, Vaipè, and Yo Chins, who within the memory of man resided in the Northern Chin Hills, have now almost entirely recrossed the northern border, either into the hills belonging to Manipur or to the south of Cachar, and their old village sites are now being occupied by the Kanhow clan of Sokte Chins, which also is steadily moving northwards.

From the available records it would seem that some authorities class the Nagas as nearly akin to the Kukis, but this is more than doubtful. The Government of the Naga tribes is distinctly democratic. Their chieftainships do not necessarily pass from father to son, but are practically dependent on the will of the tribesmen, and the Naga Chiefs are therefore without much individual power and their rule is based on the general approval of the clan. The Kuki Chiefs, on the other hand, invariably inherit their position by the right of birth and take the initiative in all matters concerning the administration of their clansmen, by whom they are respected and feared. Of course, even amongst the Kukis, it sometimes happens that a Chief fails to govern his clan with a firm hand or is so overbearing that he is deserted by his people, who fly to another village and to the protection of a more lenient ruler. The braves of a tribe, too, will not always forsake the excitement of the war-path at the command of a peace-loving Chief. It is true that the elders of the village, called "Waihaumte" in the north and "Boite" in the south and by the Lushai officers "Kharbari" and "Mantri," surround the person of the Chief, but although they all discuss questions together, they have no power to over-rule the decision of the Chief himself.

The Naga and Kuki methods of cultivation are totally different, for whereas the Naga takes the greatest care and pride in his elaborate system of terrace cultivation, the Kuki merely jhooms in a most untidy and wasteful manner. The dress of the Naga is invariably a cloth tied round the loins with the loose ends hanging down in front, while the Kuki either wears nothing but a blanket or else a "dhoti" wound round the loins passing between the legs from the front and fastened behind in the regular Indian way. In appearance the Nagas and Kukis differ; some Nagas cut their hair which the Kukis never do. The Naga features are more pronounced and in many other ways the light-hearted Naga is far apart from the solemn slow-speaking Kuki.

Those of the Kuki tribes which we designate as "Chins" do not recognize that name, which is said to be a Burmese corruption of the Chinese "Jin," or "Yen," meaning "man." The Northern Chins call themselves Yo, the Tashons, Haka, and more southern tribes Lai, while the Chins of Lower Burma give their name as Shu. Some of the Assam tribes have also been christened by names unknown to them; for instance, "Naga," the meaning of which is simply "naked," and the Arbors, who call themselves "Padam."

The Chins subordinate to Burma are not all contained in the tract administered from Falam, for besides the Chinbòks, Chinbòns, and Chinmès administered from Yawdwin, and the political charge of the Arakan Hill Tracts, the Deputy Commissioners of Minbu, Thayetmyo, Kyaukpyu, and Sandoway all have dealings with Chins who reside in their districts.

The separate tribes recognized in the tract controlled from Falam are the Soktes, Siyins, Tashons, Hakas, Klangklangs, and Yokwas. In the south there are independent villages belonging to none of these main tribes. Each of these independent villages has its own Chief; they have no tribal system.

The Thado, the Yo, the Nwità, and the Vaipe tribes have almost disappeared from the Northern Chin Hills, and reference need only be made to

them when dealing with the Sokte tract. The Sokte tribe, which includes the Kanhow clan, is found on both banks of the Manipur river, which led to the people on the left bank calling those on the right Nwengals (from 'Nun' a river, 'Ngal' across). This term has been brought into use by us and the Nwengals have been considered a separate tribe; this, however, is not so, and the term Nwengal, as the name of a distinct clan, should disappear.

The Siyins are the Tantes and Tauktes of the Manipur records. The Tashon tribe includes the two powerful communities of Yahows and Whenohs, which were formerly known as Pois, Poites, and Paites. The formidable Shendus, so well known on the Chittagong and Arakan frontiers, are mainly Klangklangs and Hakas. The term "Baungshe" [from the Burmese *paung*, to put on (a turban), and *she*, in front] has been applied indiscriminately to all Chins who bind their hair over the forehead. It is a mere nickname and has been intentionally omitted.¹

The subjoined table of population gives the number of villages of each tribe and an estimate of the population of each tribal area.

Population. The population of the hills is estimated by multiplying the number of houses by five. No census has been taken as yet, but from such enquiries as have been made it is probable that the Chin household will not average more than five persons in any part of the hills.

Tribe or communities.	Villages.	Houses.	Population.	Remarks.
Sokte ...	59	1,801	9,005	Including 678 houses of the Kanhow clan and 651 houses in the Nwengal tract.
Siyin ...	5	354	1,770	
Tashon ...	132	7,843	39,215	Including 600 Whenoh houses and 1,700 Yahow houses.
Haka ...	41	2,850	14,250	
Klangklang ...	20	985	4,925	
Yokwa ...	14	535	2,675	
Independent southern villages.	45	3,556	17,780	
Total ...	316	17,916	89,620	

¹ We have now identified the tribes and clans and families which are mentioned in Mackenzie's "North-Eastern Frontier of Bengal," Chapter XVI, as follows:—

The "Sooties," "Sokties," "Kanhowes" are what we know as the Sokte tribe.

The "Chassads" or "Chuksads" are known to the Chins as Taksat and to the officers of the Upper Chindwin in Burma as the Kaungse, which latter word is the Burmese way of pronouncing "Khongjai," the Manipuri name given to all Kukis (and Chins) who reside on the border of the plains. The Chassads belong to the Thado tribe.

The immigrants described as "a Helot race not actually of the Sootie tribe, but living in villages of their own amongst them," are what we know as the Yo and Nwite tribes.

The "Northern Pois" mentioned by Colonel Johnstone in 1878 are the Yahow tribe and the "Lakava Pois" or "Sindhus" are the Klangklang tribe and the Independent southern villages.

The "Waipies" are known to us as the Vaipes; nearly the whole family has left the Chin Hills and is now living in Manipur territory. About 100 houses are included in the "Nwite" or Ma village of Losao.

The "Hankeeps" and "Hawkibs" are merely a family of the Thado tribe. The tribes which lie on the immediate south are (1) Thado, (2) Yo, (3) Nwite, (4) Sokte.



Photo taken by

Survey of India Office, Calcutta, November 1911.

18. TYPICAL VIEW OF CHIN LAND.

The most thickly populated tract is that of the Tashons, whilst the Siyin and Kanhow tracts could easily support four times the present population. The only local transport is the cooly, and under the most favourable conditions one cooly from every house in a village is the utmost which can be expected. During the agricultural season the proportion obtainable is much less, as the people are scattered over the hillsides, working in the fields by day and sleeping in their cultivation huts at night.

The Chin Hills are administered by a Political Officer with headquarters at Falam; he has, besides a Senior Assistant, three Assistants with headquarters at Tiddim, Falam, and Haka respectively, which places are strongly garrisoned, the former, with its line of communication, by a battalion of military police and the two latter by a regiment of Burma infantry.¹ The Siyins and Soktes are controlled from Tiddim, the Tashons and their tributaries from Falam, while the Hakas, Klangklangs, Yokwas and the Independent southern villages are dealt with from Haka.

The tract administered from Falam is bounded on the north by Manipur; on the west by a line drawn due south from Lunglen through the Buljang peak to the western edge of the lake north-east of Tattun, which is supposed to be the source of the Tyao river; thence the Tyao river to its junction with the Boinu or Koladyne; thence the Boinu to the most southerly point of its bend towards the north; thence a line drawn due south to the Arakan boundary; thence the Arakan boundary to a point due west of Tilin in the Pakôkku district; on the south by a line drawn due west from this point to the boundary of the Pakôkku district; on the east by the eastern foot of the hills which border the Kabaw, Kale, and Myittha valleys.²

CHAPTER II.

GEOGRAPHY, NATURAL HISTORY, &C.

THE Chin Hills lie between latitude 24° in the north and $21^{\circ} 45'$ on the south and longitude $94^{\circ} 5'$ on the east and longitude $93^{\circ} 20'$ on the west. The tract, which forms a parallelogram, may be traversed from north to south in 250 miles of mountain path, while its breadth varies from 100 to 150 miles. It consists of a much broken and contorted mass of mountains, intersected by deep valleys, and is utterly devoid of plains and table-lands.

¹ While these pages were passing through the press the Chin Hills were declared by proclamation to be a part of the Province of Burma and constituted a scheduled district. Proposals for defining the law in force in this tract are now before the Government of India.

It is proposed at the end of the current year (1896) to replace the troops in the Southern Chin Hills by military police.

² These boundaries are not strictly defined. The question was discussed in Foreign Department letter No. 1391E., dated the 3rd July 1890, to the Chief Commissioner of Assam; Foreign Department letter No. 1396E., dated the 3rd July 1890, to the Government of Bengal, and in Burma Political Department letter No. 787-26-14, dated the 28th July 1893, to the Government of India in the Foreign Department. The boundary between the Chin Hills and Manipur was settled by a Commission in 1894.

The main ranges run generally north to south and vary in height from 5,000 to 9,000 feet, among the most important being the **Mountains.** Letha or Tang, which is the watershed between the Chin-dwin and Manipur rivers; the Imbukklang, which divides the Sokte tribe from the Whenohs and sheds the water from its eastern slopes into Upper Burma and that from its western slopes into Arakan; the Rongklang, which, with its prolongations, is the main watershed of the southern hills, its eastern slopes draining into the Myittha and thus into the Chindwin, while the western face drains, into the Boinu river, which, winding through the hills discharges itself eventually in the Bay of Bengal.

The highest peak yet discovered is the Liklang between Rawywa and Lungno, some 70 miles south of Haka, the altitude of which is nearly 10,000 feet, while the bed of the Manipur river below Falam is but 1,300 feet above sea-level.

In the north the most conspicuous peaks are Lunglen, the western point of the Chin-Manipur boundary, 6,531 feet; Katong, 7,837 feet, on the same frontier; Noakuvum, 8,500 feet; and Kul, 8,860 feet, also called Kennedy Peak after an officer of the Survey of India, both the latter being on the Tang range; while in the south the most prominent are the Rumklao, 8,231 feet; the Moonklang, 7,325 feet; the Rongklang, 8,000 feet; the Boipa, 8,880 feet, together with many others of over 8,000 feet in the more distant south.

Chinland discharges its waters into Upper Burma, Arakan, Assam, and Manipur. The largest rivers are the Manipur, which starts **Rivers.** from the Lontak lake and flows almost due south from Shuganu to Molbem, whence curving to the east it leaves Falam on its right bank and debouches into Burma at Sihaung, joining the Myittha river a mile further on; the Boinu, which rises in the Yahow country, flows south through the Haka and Independent southern tracts as far as Aika, where it turns west to Naring and thence flows due north to the Darjowklang, then again turning south enters Northern Arakan under the name of the Kola-dyne and discharges itself into the Bay of Bengal; the Tyao river, which originates in a lake north of Tattun and flowing south joins the Boinu, forming part of the western border; the Tuivai, which takes its source on the west and in the latitude of Tunzan and is the longest tributary of the Barak river in Assam; the Tuinan, which rises on the Katong peak, and is a tributary of the Tape, which is again a tributary of the Manipur river, Chakpi; and the Nanpathi, which rises in the Yokwa tract and flows north-west into the Manipur river a few miles west of Kanchaung. All rivers are fordable during the open season, except the Manipur river, which below Kwanglui is rarely fordable and is never so before the month of February even as far north as Tunzan.

No expert has yet studied the geology of the district, and the following **Geological for-** description of the formation of the hills does not pretend **mation.** to be exhaustive. The surface soil for the most part, and where the slopes permit it to accumulate, is either a rich loam or disintegrated shale, in both of which most plants and vegetables suitable to the climate and elevation flourish.

In the virgin forests a surface coating, often more than 6 feet-deep, of the richest decayed vegetable manure is found, and it is this coating which

produces such excellent rice in the north and which renders the task of road-making over the higher peaks so difficult. The fertility of the alluvial plains of Kale and Kabaw may also be traced to this deposit, which innumerable streams have carried from the Chin highlands to coat the plains below. On some of the higher elevations deposits of gravel have been found, and below this an immense bed of shale of great thickness appears to form the backbone of the hills extending from Manipur in the north to the Yendu and Chindôn tracts in the south. In this stratum there occurs in isolated places indications of iron pyrites, sulphur, and ores of a similar nature, and a sulphur spring exists on the right bank of the Manipur river between Saiyan and Kaptyal. Slate of varying qualities is common, but steatite, which exists in the hills further south, has not been found within the district.

Under 3,000 feet a red sandstone formation is common, and at some places a complete inversion of the strata has been noticed, the sandstone being on the surface at an elevation of 6,000 and 7,000 feet, while underneath is the shale and slate rock, in which small veins of quartz may be traced.

Salt in minute quantities is found throughout the hills. The best known spring is the Chibu well on the banks of the Tuivai river in latitude 24° ; and several others have been found both at Dimio and in the Yahow country in the north, and at Satorn, Rawywa, and other places in the south. The water found in these wells, which are often formed by a hollow tree sunk into the ground, is perfectly clear. The Chins boil the water down in clay pots near the wells and obtain a circular slab of most impure salt, the taste of which scarcely resembles the article we use.

Coal has been found in the hills on the west of the Kabaw valley, so far only in small quantities and of inferior quality. The limestone which crops up in Burma and is so common in the Shan States appears to be rare. There is but little indication of volcanic action and the hills seem to be universally water-worn.

Everywhere, save within the denser forests, the hills are thickly clothed with various kinds of grass, of which the coarse bent grass is the most common; spear and elephant grass are found everywhere, whilst meadow sweet grass is found around some villages, and quaking grass is very prevalent on the higher peaks.

The forests may be divided into five classes, the lowest being the In or Sal primeval forest which flourishes at the foot of the hills and which gradually gives way to mixed sub-tropical forest up to an altitude of 3,000 feet. Immediately above this comes the pine forest, which is found at its best at an altitude of 5,000 feet, here mixed with scrub oak forests which do not usually prosper above 5,500 feet. Lastly, commencing at an altitude of 4,000 feet and clothing the highest peaks at an altitude of 9,000 feet we find, with holly, the rhododendron which thrives and flowers on the exposed sides of ranges where no other tree can live. Side by side with the rhododendron above an altitude of 6,000 feet grows a dwarf bamboo ordinarily not more than 6 feet high and very slim, but so dense that the sambur has difficulty in forcing a way through it.

Below an altitude of 3,500 feet teak grows to large size along the banks of the streams which debouch into Burma from the hills, but no teak has been found anywhere in the interior of the hills, except at Laiyo (a Tashon

village) and one or two other villages, where it has been planted and grows at an elevation of 4,500 feet, though as yet it has not attained workable size and probably will never do so. The Chins do not value teak because it is hard and grows at long distances from their villages, but it may prove worth our while to plant teak in and reserve the forests which border the Kabaw and Kale valleys.

The pine is not the species *longifolia*, but the *Pinus khassia*, and is the best resin-producing tree in the world; it is found throughout the length and breadth of the hills, generally growing only to a moderate size. The natives use the tree for planks for building purposes and for torches. Their methods of procuring these are extremely wasteful, for a full-grown tree furnishes two planks, and the wood for torches is prepared by cutting a gash in the trunk of a live tree and burning the wood, which has the effect of drawing the resin into the wound; the surrounding wood being thus highly impregnated with resin is chipped off in wedges, and the tree, thus weakened, is either blown down by the March winds or consumed by the jungle fires of the two preceding months. It is more than possible that a resin industry will be successfully worked in the future, as resin is scarce in India and commands a high price, and each year we put less money into the hands of the natives, who, having acquired a taste for articles of European manufacture, will, when they find that cooly work is not obtainable, procure resin and sell it either to the Forest Officers or to traders in the Upper Chindwin and Pakókku districts.

The oak trees are of various species; the dwarf oak is the most common: the wood is only used as fuel by the natives, who also gather the acorns to feed the pigs. On account of its stunted growth this tree will never be of any use to us.

The rhododendron is never used by the natives as it is useless as a building material, and as fuel it is too smoky; it therefore flourishes undisturbed and, when in flower, beautifies the hills with abnormally large and brilliant red flowers; the white flower is but rarely seen.

The bamboo, growing like corn stalks and not in clumps, which is the chief characteristic of the Lushai jungle, hardly appears at all in the Chin Hills, except on the low hills bordering the Pakókku district and on the Lushai border.

The following is a list of the trees, shrubs, and flowers which have been found in the hills and identified beyond doubt. As no expert has yet examined the flowers, it is possible that many others will be identified in the course of time.

Trees.

Ash.	Dalbergia.
Oak (several varieties).	Iron wood.
Rhododendron.	Laurel.
Wood oil (<i>Dipterocarpus</i>).	Tree ferns.
Pine (<i>Pinus khassia</i>).	Bamboos (four varieties).
Peepul (<i>Ficus religiosa</i>).	Palms (varieties).
Eugénias.	Cane.
Sterculias.	Cutch.
Teak.	Alder.
Sal.	Willow (<i>Salix</i>).
Hill silk-cotton tree.	Sumbal (Indian name).
Rubber.	Holly.
Maple.	Acacia.

Fruit trees.

Sweet chestnut.
Fig.
Pear.
Peach.
Walnut.
Cherry.
Mango.

Tamarind.
Orange.
Lemon.
Sweet-lime.
Citron.
Mulberry.
Guava.

Plantain.

Other plants.

Indigo.
Pineapple.
Chillies.
Tobacco.
Cardamom.

Cotton.
Raspberries.
Strawberries.
Turmeric.
Ginger.

Euphorbia (a species of cactus much grown as village fences).

Flowers.

Common dog-rose.
Violet.
Arum lily.
Primula.
Daisy.
Marsh mallow.
Flags.
Tiger lily.
Orchids.
Forget-me-not.

White jessamine.
Hare-bell.
African marigold.
Azalea.
Honeysuckle.
Anemone.
Morning glory.
Sun-flower.
Blue larkspur.
Verbena.

Orchids (over 30 varieties have been found).

Besides the above, the following are found,—ivy, mistletoe, maiden-hair, sweet-briar, and clover (at Haka).

In spite of the high altitudes at which our posts are placed, the climate of the hills has proved a disappointment, for even in the cold frosty weather of December and January officers and men continually fall ill with malarial and other feverish complaints. This we attribute to the sudden changes of temperature, for in January in the middle of the day the thermometer will register 140° in the sun and at night and on the ground it will fall as low as 20° below freezing point.

The climate, judged at an elevation of between 2,500 and 6,500 feet, is temperate, as in the shade and off the ground the thermometer but rarely rises above 80° or falls below 25° . In the heat of the day and exposed to the full force of the sun during the hot months the thermometer will register as much as 150° , and on the ground at the end of December 10 degrees of frost are not uncommon. During our five years of occupation snow has only once been witnessed; it fell on the Tang or Letha range in 1893 and lay for two days. The Chins speak of snow as an occasional occurrence.

Hail-storms are rare; the stones are not only abnormally large, but are particularly jagged, and they seem to fall more heavily and to hurt far more than the hail-stones to which one is accustomed in England. So far, experience has taught us that the seasons are most irregular and rain has been noticed to fall in every month of the year. We, however, look on the latter half of November, December, January, February, March, April, and

May as the open season, and expect a week's rain rather before Christmas; after that no more until the end of March, when a few bad days must be looked for. In April four or five days of fairly heavy rain are expected and short heavy storms are looked for in May. The end and especially the commencement of the rains are announced with thunder-storms. In June the rains set in in earnest and are practically incessant until 15th November. The rain is accompanied by a dense mist which envelopes the land, and for days at a time at Haka and Fort White it is impossible to see one's neighbour's house even at a distance of 20 paces.

The registration shows that the rainfall varies considerably in different parts of the hills, and we know that at Kennedy Peak, Fort White, the Imbukkiang, and Haka, where heavy primeval forest exists, the rainfall is heavier than at Tiddim, Dimlo, and Falam village, where pine trees are found and where the under vegetation is neither thick nor rank. At Haka and Fort White the rainfall is very similar and is heavier than at any of our other posts. The rainfall registered at Haka was 111.03 inches in 1893 and 92.26 in 1894; a corresponding amount fell at Fort White; and in 1894 approximately one-third less fell at Falam and one-half at Tiddim. It is probable that after ten years' experience the yearly rainfall will average 90 inches at Haka and Fort White, 70 inches at Falam, and 55 at Tiddim.

The following is a list of the birds, beasts, and fishes as yet found in the Chin Hills and streams:—

Animals.

Elephant.
Rhinoceros (*Sumatrensis*).
Rhinoceros (*Sondaicus*).
Bison (*Gavæus gaurus*).
Gyal (*Gavæus frontalis*).
Tsine (*Gavæus Sondaicus*).
Sambur (*Rusa Aristotelis*).
Thamin (*Rusernes Eldii*).
Barking deer (*Cervulus aureus*).
Ghooral (*Nemorhædus*).
Serow (*Nemorhædus bubalina*).
Hog-deer (*Axis porcinus*).
Tiger (*Felis tigris*).
Panther (*Felis leopardus*).
Marbled tiger cat (*Felis marmorata*).
Wild cat (*Felis chaus*).
Civet cat, of varieties (genus *Viverra*).
Toddy cat.

Otter (two kinds).
Malayan sun bear (*Ursus Malayensis*).
Himalayan black bear (*Ursus torquatus*).
Wild dog (*Cuon rutilans*).
Badger.
Porcupine.
Armadillo (true name *manis*).
Hoolook (*Hylobates hoolock*).
Different species of Macacus (short-tailed monkeys).
Different species of Semnopithecus (long-tailed monkeys).
Hare (very large).
Flying squirrel.
Ordinary squirrel.
Pig (*Sus cristatus*).
Rats, moles, and various rodents.

Game birds.

Bamboo partridge.
Wood partridge (varieties).
Chinese francolin.
Kallige pheasant (black-breasted).
The grey bellied tragopan.
Argus pheasant (*Polypectron*).
Fire-backs (two or three kinds).
Hume's pheasant.
Jungle fowl.
Woodcock. (.
Wood-snipe.

Snipe (fantail and pintail).
Teal (common).
Teal (whistling).
Golden plover.
Button quail.
Rain quail (occasionally).
Imperial pigeon.
Green pigeon (three kinds, including the pintailed).
Speckled wood-pigeon.



Photo-copying.

10 CHIN GOAT.

Survey of India Office, Calcutta, November 1911.

Birds of prey.

Bonellis eagle (crestless hawk eagle).
 Kestrel hawk.
 Sparrow hawk.
 Other varieties of falcons and hawks
 have been seen, but all far from com-
 mon.
 Vulture.

Kite (*Milvus govinda*).
 Brahminy kite.
 Buzzards (two smaller kinds).
 Owls (several kinds, including the large
 scops owl, the eagle owl, grass owl,
 and others).

Other Birds.

Swift.
 Swallow.
 Sand martin.
 Night jar.
 Bee-eater (blue tailed).
 Roller (blue jay).
 Kingfisher (five varieties, including the
 great Indian kingfisher, large crested
 black and white kingfisher, the pied
 kingfisher, the common Indian king-
 fisher, and a small bird as found in
 England).
 Yellow-throated broadbill.
 Hornbill.
 Paraquets (three varieties).
 Woodpeckers (golden-backed and four
 or five other kinds).
 Wry neck.
 Nut hatch.
 Cuckoo (many varieties, including the
 allied families of Koels and Malko-
 has are found: the English cuckoo
 is frequently heard).
 Great hawk cuckoo.
 Hoopoe.
 Shrikes (several, of which the drongo is
 the best known representative under
 the name of king-crow).
 Large miniret (scarlet plumage particu-
 larly noticeable).

Black bird.
 Water ousel.
 Thrush (several varieties of babbling
 thrushes).
 Bulbul (ordinary red-vented and green).
 Golden oriole.
 Red start.
 Grass warbler.
 Reed warbler.
 Wagtail (pied).
 Tits (several kinds, the cole tit being
 most common).
 Wrens (common and golden crested).
 Crow (*Corvus splendens*).
 Jay (as found in England).
 Magpie (common Indian and the red-
 billed blue magpie).
 Mynas (at foot of hills; chiefly the Bur-
 mese pied myna, the glossy black
 myna, and the common myna).
 Spotted munia.
 Sparrow (*Passer montanus*).
 Lark (small sky-lark, very similar to
 English species, but smaller).
 Red wattled lapwing.
 Stone plover.
 Sand-piper.
 Rails.
 Little green heron.
 Emerald dove.

Bar-tailed cuckoo dove.

Snakes.

Hamadryad.
 Himalayan tree viper.
 Cobra (rare).

Green snakes.
 Spotted snakes.
 Russel's viper (chain viper).

Fish.¹

Mahseer (two varieties).
 Carp (several varieties).
 Chilwa.
 Stone loach.

Sharp-nosed eel.
 Cat-fish.
 Murrel.
 Goonch.

¹ In 1835 Captain Pemberton wrote that Lontak lake, from which the Manipur river issues, "furnished no less than 26 varieties of fish—18 common to the rivers of Bengal and "eight not found in any of them." So far, only some 12 varieties of fish have been noticed in the Chin hills.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY DEALINGS WITH THE CHINS AND LUSHAIS.

(1) Chittagong border.

IN 1760 Chittagong was ceded to the East India Company by the Mahomedans. No attempt, however, was made to bring any part of the hills under control until 1859, when, with a view of protecting our borders from the aggressions of the hill tribes on the east, the district called the Chittagong Hill Tracts was formed and placed in charge of a Superintendent, while a special Act was passed to enable him to deal with the people in a manner suited to their condition.

In Mackenzie's "North-Eastern Frontier of Bengal" we find on record the innumerable raids and outrages committed in Chittagong by the hillmen from the beginning of the present century. The earliest notice of aggression dates from 1777, when Ramoo Khan, probably a Chukma Chief, rebelled against the authority of the East India Company's cotton farmer and called in to his assistance "large bodies of Kooki men who live far in the interior part of the hills, who have not the use of firearms and whose bodies go unclothed," and we gather from other contemporaneous notices that tribes called "Kukies" were wont to raid on the plains. Almost yearly from 1800 to 1872 do the records bemoan the raids of Kukis, Shendus, Kumis, and other tribes, who swooped down from their fastnesses on the east to murder, pillage, and burn.

In 1854 the Superintendent of Police at Chittagong, reviewing the history of the tract for the previous 20 years, so far as it appeared in the local records, stated that there had been 19 raids in which 107 persons had been slain, 15 wounded, and 186 carried into slavery.

The year 1860 saw the great Kuki invasion of Tipperah, and the following year a large body of police marched into the hills to punish and avenge. The Lushais burnt their own villages and fled to the jungle.

In 1865 the unhappy state of affairs on the frontier was brought to the notice of the Government. It was reported that annually from November to May bands of Shendus and other hillmen came down, from the interior and ravaged the villages of our subjects.

The policy of the Government from the very beginning had been one of defence of our borders and non-interference with the trans-border tribesmen; this policy had failed; no schemes and no efforts sufficed to keep the Lushais from raiding into our territory. Even the energetic and plucky Iewin, who, unescorted, visited the trans-border Lushais in their fortified villages and made a desperate attempt to penetrate into the heart of the Chin-Lushai hills, was unable, even for a time, to restrain the raiders or check their ravages, and the hillmen continued plundering our territory, slaving and carrying into captivity our people. Our officers wrote countless appeals and proposals for the better protection of our subjects, until in 1871 the unpardonable outrages of the Lushais, committed chiefly in Cachar and Sylhet, brought matters to a climax and decided the Government to send an expedition into the hills to punish the raiders, recover our subjects from captivity, and to convince the tribes that we were both able and willing to reach their most distant villages and avenge raids com-

mitted within our territories and upon our people. A short account of this expedition is given further on; it was successful and it was hoped that the Lushais would not misbehave again. These hopes were partially realized. For 10 years not a single raid was committed in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and then in 1882 the Lushais committed a cruel raid on a friendly Lushai village. During the next five years two more outrages were perpetrated and in 1888 the Chin-Lushai community, known as the Shendus, entered into the Chittagong hills on a marauding expedition. Happening to come upon the encampment of Lieutenant John Stewart of the Leinster Regiment, who accompanied by a small escort of Gurkhas was engaged in survey work, they succeeded, after suffering loss, in killing Lieutenant Stewart, two Europeans, and a sepoy. Almost at the same time two raids, one of a particularly savage nature, were committed in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Thus the Government of Bengal had good reason for wishing to settle the Lushais once and for all at exactly the same time as the Burma Government found it imperative to face the Chin question in the interests of the newly acquired province of Upper Burma. It therefore happened that the Chins were dealt with from the east and the Lushais from the west at the same time, for while a column from Burma was being pushed forward into the Siyin country in December 1888, Colonel Tregear in command of a column 850 strong, with two mountain guns, entered the Lushai country from Chittagong *via* Rangamutti and Demagiri. The Lushais took the offensive, and at the very time that this column was advancing they swooped down into the plains and attacked and burnt 24 villages, killing 101 persons and carrying off 91 captives.

The result of the 1888-89 expedition was the punishment of several villages and the establishment of Fort Lungleh in the heart of the South Lushai tract. This post was connected by road and waterway with Demagiri and also by a telegraph line. During the rains of 1889 Lungleh was garrisoned by a British Officer and some 200 rank and file of the frontier police.

As soon as the country was again practicable Colonel, now Brigadier-General, Tregear marched a second time into Lushai from Chittagong to complete the work of the former expedition and was placed in command of 3,400 men. This expedition is called the Chin-Lushai expedition of 1889-90. Forces advancing from Burma and Assam worked in co-operation. The punishment of the Lushais was completed. Lieutenant Stewart's death was avenged, a road was constructed to the Lushai eastern frontier, and this was joined to a road through Haka to the Chin Western border. Fort Tregear was established on the Datzaw mountain and strongly garrisoned and a Superintendent of the South Lushai Hills was appointed with headquarters at Lungleh and subordinate to the Commissioner of Chittagong. Thus the Lushai tract was occupied after every plan except that of permanent occupation had been attempted in vain.

(2) *The Tipperah border.*

Tipperah lies south of Sylhet and north of Chittagong; the kingdom formerly included plains as well as the hills which merge into the Lushai country. The East India Company annexed the paying part of Tipperah,

namely, the plains, in 1761, but of the barren hills that fenced them no cognizance was taken. These hills became what we still know as Independent Tipperah, governed by a Rajah. From 1785, when we read that the Rajah was victorious over the outer Kukis who had just made a savage inroad into his territory, until the Lushai expedition of 1871-72, the Lushais were continually troubling Hill Tipperah. The year 1824 saw a series of raids by the then called "Poitoo Kukies," who were said to number 50,000 or 60,000 and to be the most formidable and turbulent of the hill tribes.

In 1860 the Kukis again burst into the plains, burnt and plundered 15 villages, butchered 185 British subjects, and carried off about 100 captives, escaping into the hills before the troops could come on the scene. These raids are known as the "great Kuki invasion of 1860," and the outrages were perpetrated in British territory and not in Independent Tipperah. During the same year, however, a fierce attack was made on the Rajah's territory, in which several villages were destroyed before the raiders were driven back into the hills.

In 1871, when the Lushais were playing havoc in the south of Assam, Hill Tipperah was not free from raids, and in that year a Political Agent was appointed to Hill Tipperah to assist the Rajah. This arrangement was discontinued in 1878, the conduct of our political relations with the State being entrusted to the Magistrate of Tipperah, who has an assistant residing in the hills.

(3) The Assam border.

After turning the Burmese conquerors out of Assam in 1824, the Government attempted to administer all that was not absolutely necessary for the control of the frontier through a Native Prince; this arrangement failed, and Assam became a non-regulation province in 1838. On its southern borders lay the Lushais, the principal tribes known to Assam being "Thadoc" and "Poitoo Kukies." For many years, long before our occupation, the inhabitants of the plains to the south had lived in dread of the "Kukies," who used to come down and attack the villages, massacring the inhabitants, taking their heads, and plundering and burning their houses.

The first Kuki or Lushai raid mentioned as being committed in Assam was in 1826; from that year to 1850 the local officers were unable to restrain the fierce attacks of the hillmen on the south. Raids and outrages were of yearly occurrence,¹ and on one occasion the Magistrate of Sylhet reported a series of massacres by "Kookies" in what was alleged to be British territory, in which 150 persons had been killed.

In 1849 the Kuki outrages were so savage and numerous that Colonel Lister, then Commandant of the Sylhet Infantry and Agent for the Khasia Hills, was sent in the cold weather of 1849-50 to punish the tribes. His expedition was only partially successful, for he found the country so impracticable that he considered it unwise to proceed further than the village of Mulla, which contained 800 houses and which he surprised and destroyed without opposition, all the male inhabitants being absent on a marauding excursion. This expedition, however, had the effect of keeping the Assam southern border tolerably free from disturbance up to the beginning of 1862, when raiding recommenced.

¹ Mackenzie's "North-Eastern Frontier of Bengal," Chapter XXI.

In the cold weather of 1868-69 the Lushais burnt a tea garden in Cachar and attacked Monierkhal, and an expedition was organized to follow the marauders, to punish the tribes concerned, and to recover the captives. This expedition was in command of General Nuthall and consisted of three columns, but the heavy rains coming on, the want of provisions and lateness of the season caused the expedition to fail in its principal objects. No tribes were punished and no captives were recovered. The next season Mr. Edgar, the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar, made strenuous efforts to get into touch with the Lushais. Accompanied by a small escort he visited them across the border and left nothing undone to conciliate and make friends with them; his good intentions and friendly attitude, however, met with little success, for 1870-71 saw a series of Lushai raids on a more extensively organized scale and of a more determined character than any previous incursions of the kind.

The first raid occurred in the Chittagong Hill Tracts on 31st December, a little more than a day's journey from the Chima out-
 Lushai raids on post. The enemy were about 200 strong. On the 23rd
 Assam in 1871. January 1871 the village of Ainerkhal, on the extreme west of the Cachar district, was burnt, 25 persons killed, and 37 taken prisoners. The same day the tea garden of Alexandrapore was destroyed by a party of the "Howlong" tribe under "Sanpoong" and "Benkuia," Mr. Winchester, the planter, being killed, and his child Mary, a girl of six years, carried off. A few hours later the adjoining garden of Kutlicherra was attacked, but the enemy were driven off by two planters. The following day a second attack was made on Kutlicherra, when two Lushais were wounded.

On the 26th January the raiders surprised some sepoy and police in the Monierkhal garden, killed one sepoy, and wounded one sepoy and one policeman, and commenced an attack on the stockade and cooly lines. Reinforcements arriving they retired with a loss of 57 men killed and wounded; the loss on our side being six killed and six wounded and one cooly missing. Simultaneously with the attack on Monierkhal a party raided the adjoining garden of Dhurmikhal, but did little damage.

Emboldened by their successes the raiders penetrated as far as Nundigram and on the 27th January killed 11 and carried off three persons. The following morning they attacked a rear-guard of eight men, 4th Native Infantry, soon after they had left Nundigram; these fought most gallantly, only one man escaping. The Lushais lost 25 men on this occasion. On the 23rd February the Jhalnacherra tea garden was attacked by a party who killed and wounded seven coolies. Meanwhile, as already noted, Hill Tipperah and the Chittagong Hill Tracts also suffered, though not so severely.

The Government of India now decided that an expedition should be made into the Lushai country during the ensuing cold weather
 The Lushai expedition, 1871-72. (1871-72). It was decided that the force should consist of two columns, the right advancing from Chittagong and the left from Cachar. General Brownlow, C.B., commanded the former, with Captain Lewin, Superintendent of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, as Civil Officer, and General Bouchier, C.B., with Mr. Edgar, Deputy Commissioner, Cachar, as Civil Officer, was in charge of the left or Cachar column.

In addition to these two columns, a contingent of Manipuris accompanied by General Nuthall, the Political Agent of Manipur, made a demonstration across the southern border to co-operate with General Bouchier's portion of the expedition.

The entire political and military conduct of the expedition was placed in the hands of the Military Commanders, who were specially instructed that the object of the expedition was not one of pure retaliation, but that the surrender of the British subjects held in captivity should be insisted on, and that every endeavour should be made to establish friendly relations with the savage tribes and to convince them that they had nothing to gain and everything to lose by placing themselves in a hostile position towards the British Government.

The Cachar column, which consisted of half a battery of Artillery, a company of Sappers, and 500 rifles, started on the 15th December. After encountering and overcoming considerable resistance and penetrating a very difficult country, General Bouchier destroyed the chief village of the offending tribes and imposed conditions of peace. Hostages were taken and a fine of arms and produce was levied. The column reached Cachar on its return on 10th March.

The Chittagong column of about the same force as that starting from Cachar advanced from Demagiri to deal with the Lyloos and Howlongs. Punishment was inflicted on these tribes and their full submission on suitable terms was secured. The restoration of all captives and an engagement to keep the peace in future were among the conditions on which the submission of the tribes was accepted. At the close of the expedition frontier posts were built to protect the border and bazaars were opened to encourage the Lushais to trade.¹

Assam now enjoyed comparative peace until 1888-89, when the hillmen, as already described, raided into Chittagong, and Assam furnished a force of 400 police under the command of Mr. Daly to co-operate with General Tregear's column. Entering the hills from Cachar, the police, with a detached force of the Chittagong column, attacked and destroyed several villages which were implicated in the outrages committed in Chittagong in 1888. When the troops retired at the close of the operations, they left two posts in the North Lushai hills—one at Aijal, the other at Changsil—and a Political Officer was appointed to administer the North Lushai Tract, with headquarters at Aijal.

(4) *The Arakan Hill Tracts.*

In 1826, at the close of the First Burmese war, the division of Arakan was annexed by the British. On account of the formidable ranges of mountains and the wild tribes which inhabited them no northern boundary of our possessions was fixed, nor was our administration on the frontier anything more than nominal.

The hill tracts, from the time of the annexation until a comparatively recent date, appear to have been raided by the same Chins and Lushais²

¹ This account is condensed from Mackenzie's "North-Eastern Frontier of Bengal," pages 313—316.

² Hughes writing in 1881 speaks of the (i) Ta Nklangs, (ii) Hakas, (iii) Mounge Doos, (iv) Bwas, (v) Saybaungs, (vi) Taungsets, (vii) Yallains, (viii) Saypees, (ix) Bowkyees, (x) Rumppees, and (xi) Lallans. These we now know as the tribes of (i) Klangklang and (ii) Haka and the villages of (iii) Wanhu and (iv) Bwe in the Haka jurisdiction and (v) Shibaung, (vi) Yalaing, (vii) Soipi, (ix) Bowkyi, (x) Ramri, and (xi) Lallaing villages of but little importance in the strip of unadministered country between the Arakan, South Lushai, and Haka jurisdictions.

as raided into Chittagong. In 1842 an expedition under Captain Phayre and Lieutenant Fytche was undertaken to punish the border tribes, and between 1863 and 1869 there were 30 separate raids reported, in which 65 persons were killed and 268 carried into slavery. In 1855 we read of the Akyab authorities ransoming a captive from the hillmen for Rs. 190 and of the bill being duly presented at the Chittagong collectorate.

In 1866 it was decided that the Chief Commissioner of British Burma should assume the direct administration of the hill country and that an inner or administrative boundary should be laid down, within which internal crime could be effectively repressed and protection afforded against aggressions from the exterior. Within this boundary administrative measures were to be introduced, and at the same time friendly relations with the tribesmen outside the border were to be cultivated. In 1870 the first Superintendent of the Hill Tracts was appointed and the country within the inner boundary garrisoned by police posts. These arrangements hold good to this day and have worked well. The administrative boundary has not advanced and, as Arakan played no further part in the final occupation of the Chin-Lushai country, the history of this tract and its relations with the Chins will now drop out of this book.

(5) The Manipur border.

In early times occasional communications passed between the British Government and the Manipur State, but our present relations with the State may be said to have originated in the First Burmese war. Manipur had been devastated by the Burmese, and its ruling family had fled to Cachar. The British troops, aided by a Manipuri contingent, drove the Burmese out of the State and, when peace was made with the British in 1826, the independence of Manipur was recognized by Burma in the Treaty of Yandaboo. A Political Agent was then appointed to Manipur.

The country of Manipur is flat, but it is girded about with high mountain chains. The most southern village in the plain of Manipur is Shuganu, the Siberia of the State, to which offenders until a recent date were banished. South of this village the hills spring from the plains and immediately rise to an elevation of 4,000 feet; and in these hills live the Chins, who in Nur Singh's time (1834—50) are known to have been raiding and preying on the plains and, as we shall notice, continued to do so up to a very recent date.

Before 1850 the Chins took possession of Mombée,¹ a hill village overlooking the plain of Manipur. In 1857, in consequence of a serious outrage on a hill village in Manipur territory, the Maharajah sent an expedition against the Chins. Although the Maharajah himself accompanied the force, the expedition was unsuccessful.

In 1859 a Honkeep village near Shuganu was burnt, 15 men killed, and many men, women, and children carried off. About the same time the vil-

¹ Village called Mombée by Manipuris and Lormpi by Chins. Although the Soktes got the credit of taking it by force, we find the inhabitants at the present time to be Thadoes ruled over by Nulshun, a Thado Chief. The Kokatung section of "Sooties" were Nwites. Nokatung (not Kokatung) we have ascertained to be a Nwite Chief living at the old village of Mwelpi; in 1871 he was treacherously seized by the Manipur contingent during the Lushai expedition of 1871-72 and died in the jail at Manipur.

lage of Saitol was burnt. Both these raids were committed by Kanhows. After these attacks a line of posts was established for the protection of the border.¹

In a memorandum written in 1861, Major McCulloch, the Political Agent at Manipur, wrote² :—

"South of the Namsailung³ are some powerful tribes, amongst whom Manipur is nothing; in fact to that part no Manipuri has ever penetrated and even as far as the Namsailung no one but myself has ever attempted to proceed. The people as far as the Namsailung have all submitted to me and will obey my orders, and my name is amongst those to the south of it. * * * Beyond the Manipur boundary are the Sootie and Loosai tribes. These are both powerful and dangerous, but at present they profess friendship, and I encourage them to come and go, though, if it were possible, the Sootie tribe should be attacked. In connection with these people and as a protection to the south of the valley, the Rajah and I have established in the south, villages of Kukis⁴ to whom are given arms and whom we call sepoy villages. They are unrestricted as to cultivation and have to send scouts to watch the tribes at the season when they are most able to move about and do mischief."

Between the years 1857 and 1871 seven raids are recorded against the Kanhows, besides two more committed during the expedition of 1871-72, and, although several officers have stated that after the expedition in 1857 against them the Soktes had remained friendly, Mackenzie points out that this could hardly be the case in the face of the above record of raids. He writes⁵ :—

"Towards the end of 1871, when preparations were being made for the expedition against the Lushais, the Maharajah of Manipur sent for the Chief of the Sooties to ascertain what assistance he could afford towards the expedition. The Chief replied that he was unable to come into Manipur as the Lushais were then collecting in great force and he did not know whether their object was to attack his tribe or to set out in any other direction. He, however, sent a deputation to the Maharajah with friendly assurances. The members of this deputation expressed a strong desire to be allowed to go forward and attack Vonolel's tribe of the Lushais. They received strict injunctions not to do so, but they do not appear to have heeded these injunctions, for a few weeks after a report was received that they had actually engaged Vonolel's tribe, but without serious loss on either side, only three of the Lushais being killed and one Sootie wounded.

"The Maharajah of Manipur supplied a contingent of about 2,000 men to assist in the Lushai expedition of 1871-72, which acted under the orders of Major-General Nuthall, who was then officiating Political Agent at Manipur. The contingent occupied an extended line of posts along the southern boundary of Manipur for the purpose of watching the Lushais, against whom Brigadier-General Bouchier was operating through Cachar. This position was also calculated to secure the fidelity of Kanhow, whilst it enabled the contingent to take full advantage of any assistance he might render. The hostile attitude of the Sooties towards the other tribes was well known, but, in the event of their throwing in their lot with them, the contingent would also have been in a position to attack them. When the Manipur troops were returning after the conclusion of the

¹ Mackenzie's "North-Eastern Frontier of Bengal," page 164.

² *Ibid.*, page 155.

³ The "Namsailung" is the Manipuri name for the stream known to the Chins by the name of Tuisa and to the Burmans as the Tizin chaung; it debouches into the plains at Tizin in the Kabaw valley. In 1834 Captain Pemberton fixed this stream and an imaginary line drawn from its sources west to the Manipur river as the southern boundary of Manipur and, although this line gave to Manipur a strip of the Chin Hills, Major McCulloch evidently attempted to control all north of it.

⁴ Major McCulloch speaks of Kukis and Sooties. By the Kukis he implies those hillmen living within the Manipur south boundary line laid down by Pemberton in 1834.

⁵ North-Eastern Frontier of Bengal, page 165.

expedition, they fell in with a party of Kanhows under the Chief named Kokatung,¹ who were carrying away 957 captives from two Lushai villages. The Kanhows came into the camp of the Manipur contingent, apparently not expecting to be treated as enemies, but were all made prisoners by the contingent and taken to Manipur and placed in irons in the jail. The 957 captives were also taken to Manipur, but not as prisoners. They were settled in the valley. General Bouchier stigmatized this as an act of "treachery" on the part of the contingent, though it had been admitted that Kokatung had committed a raid on a Manipur village in 1871. General Nuthall, the officiating Agent, however, maintained that the Sooties were hostile to Manipur, and, with the view of refuting the representations made to the Government of India regarding the 'friendly alliance' of the Sootie tribe, he submitted a list of raids alleged by Manipur to have been committed on that State from 1835 to that date. He described Kanhow's attitude since the affair of 1857 already described to be 'one of alternate pretence of submission, raid upon Rajah's distant villages, and assurance of non-participation.' It was, however, generally considered by other officials that the Kanhows were friendly. Mr. Edgar, the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar, said there could be no doubt that 'Kanhaw was quite in earnest in desiring to help Manipur and us against his old enemies,' the people of Vonolel's villages, 'but of course,' he added, 'he can never forgive that wonderful piece of treachery' (referring to the capture of Kokatung and his followers). It should, however, be mentioned that General Nuthall was not actually present when Kokatung and his followers were disarmed and made prisoners, but was a few miles in advance: he nevertheless approved what the Manipur Majors had done and thus became responsible for their act. He also asked that the Governor-General in Council might be moved to acknowledge 'the judicious and resolute conduct of the two Majors,' to whom the 'success' was due. The Kanhows were anxious to obtain Kokatung's release, and in April 1872 sent an embassy to Manipur with that object. Kikoul, who was Chief of the embassy, was informed that no proposition of any kind could be entertained whilst a single subject of the Maharajah remained in their hands, and that, if the captives were not released, the Maharajah would take measures to punish the Kanhows. Kokatung died shortly after this in the Manipur jail."

In the autumn of 1872 there were indications of impending hostilities between Manipur and the Kanhows; but the desire of the Manipuris to attack the Kanhows was discouraged by the Government of India. Later in the same year negotiations were opened for the mutual restoration of captives and for the conclusion of peace; and in March 1873 friendship was ostensibly established.

¹ The story of the capture of Kokatung I have taken from Mackenzie, who derived his information from the Manipur reports. The following is the Chin version, which we have received from Kokatung's sons and the man named Kikoul (who recovered Kokatung's bones) and from persons who were arrested at the Chibu camp by the Manipuris.

Kokatung's correct name was Nokatung; he was a Nwité and not Kanhow, and he lived at Mwelpi, a village originally built by the Mangwum family of the Thado tribe. Kantum, the father of Kanhow, destroyed this village when conquering the Northern Chin Hills; the village which then consisted of 300 houses was rebuilt by the Thados, who paid tribute to Kantum and afterwards to Kanhow; the Thados in course of time moved north and Nwités under Nokatung occupied the village site. The Nwités formerly lived on the site of the present post of Tiddim and at Lamyang; they then migrated some north and others west across the river into Lushai and there paid tribute to the Lushai Chief Poiboi. During the Lushai expedition Nokatung, who had gone north, fearing for the safety of his relations, crossed into Lushai and persuaded the emigrants to return with him to settle down in his village. On their way to Mwelpi they saw the Manipur encampment, and, considering the Manipuris as friends, they entered the camp and were treacherously seized and carried off to Manipur, where Nokatung died in jail in 1872. Nokatung had three sons, the most notorious was Sumkam, who was Chief of the Nwités, or "Tornglorngs," as they are nicknamed; the other two sons were confined for six months in Fort White in 1892 for possessing Burman captives. Sumkam died in 1892 and his two brothers now live in Losao, in territory which belongs to Manipur by virtue of the Chin-Manipur Boundary Commission agreement of 1894. The man Kikoul is known to us as Kaikwun; he is a Thado and lives at Tanka village under Howchinkup.

In October 1874 raids were renewed by Kanhows from Mombee and two villages (Kumsol and Mukoong) were attacked and burnt, some of the inhabitants being killed and many others carried into captivity. With the sanction of the Government of India the Rajah of Manipur sent a force of 2,400 men against Mombee in February 1875. The Manipuris reported that after a skirmish, in which they had been successful, the enemy had sued for peace, had restored some of the captives, and had promised to restore the rest. The Political Agent believed that there had been no fighting; but as a matter of fact some of the captives were restored and a deputation of Soktes returned with the force to Manipur.

For a short time raids seem to have ceased; but in 1876, 1877, and 1878 they were frequent. But the Soktes were not considered by the Political Agent to be entirely to blame as raids on them were committed by Kukis from Manipur. In 1877 it was reported that five Kanhow heads had been brought into Manipur and offered up, as is usual in such cases, in the hole on the north side of the Nur Singh Durwaza called "Suroong" to the presiding deity.¹

In 1878 Colonel Johnstone, the Political Agent, reported that the Maharajah was anxious to be allowed to subdue the Sooties, but acknowledged that he could not do so without assistance in arms and ammunition. The Government of India, however, did not approve of aggressive action. In 1879-80 the "Sootie Kukis" again committed a number of atrocities on the frontier, but the next year they left Manipur in peace and confined their action to the Kale and Kabaw valleys of Burma.

At the annexation of Upper Burma, Manipur took the precaution of strengthening her southern posts to prevent the Soktes from raiding, and, although petty raids were nevertheless of frequent occurrence for months, no serious outrages were perpetrated in Manipur territory, the Chins, as in 1879-80, finding enough to attract their attention in the Kale State, at this time rent with civil war.

(6) Relations between the Chins and Upper Burma.

In 1886² the possessions of the King of Burma were transferred to the British, and the next two years were spent in exploring the country, suppressing local rebellions, and stamping out dacoity. In due course attention was paid to the Kabaw valley, the Kale State, and the Yaw country, which were the western border tracts of the King of Burma's kingdom, as we found it. The Kabaw valley was included in the Upper Chindwin district; the Kale State was under the control of the Deputy Commissioner of that district; the Yaw tract was included in the Pagan and afterwards in the Pakòkku district.

The Kabaw³ valley, inhabited by Shans, lying between the Shan States of Thaungdut⁴ on the north and Kale on the south, was occupied in 1886 by our troops, who advanced from Manipur. The valley was administered by "Tamòns," who occupied much the same position as thugyis in Burma.

¹ Mackenzie's "North-Eastern Frontier of Bengal," pages, 167—171.

² The history of the dealings of Burma with the Siyin and Sokte tribes prior to 1886 is given in Chapters X and XI.

³ Or Kubo.

⁴ Known as Sumjok to Manipur.

It was proposed either to divide the valley between the Sawbwas of Kale and Thaugndut, or to make it over to Manipur, but both proposals fell

through, as the Sawbwa of Kale did not attend the meeting which was convened on the 20th February 1887, and the inhabitants refused to be made over to Manipur, doubtless being influenced by the fact that prior to 1834 they had been from time to time under Manipur rule ¹ and had by no means appreciated it. The people unanimously declared for British rule and did not wish to be placed under any native form of government. Finally, therefore, it was decided that the valley should be included in the Upper Chindwin district and the Kubo Valley Military Police Battalion² was raised for its protection.

The Kale valley, at this time, was ruled by a Sawbwa, but the State was paralyzed by the civil war which was waged between two rivals for the Sawbwaship, an uncle ³ and his nephew.⁴ In 1886 we found the old Sawbwa, Maung Yit, in power, but he had to be deposed owing to his unscrupulous and corrupt government, and on the 1st January 1887 his rival, the Kyā Maing, Maung Pa Gyi, was appointed Sawbwa in his stead. The *ex*-Sawbwa was sent to Mandalay with his attendants and ordered to reside

there. We had found the Kale State in a most unhappy condition, for the country, divided against itself, was fighting either on the one side or the other, and moreover the Siyin Chins, taking advantage of the confusion, descended from the hills and committed a series of such barbarous raids that the valley was partially depopulated.

The Yaw country was first approached at the close of 1887, when four columns starting from Pakōkku, Kalewa, Alōn, and Salin entered the tract, the primary object of the movement being to clear the country of dacoits and to give the Civil officers an opportunity of learning and settling the country

and meeting the Chiefs of the trans-border tribes. Captain Eyre, Deputy Commissioner of Pagan, was associated with the columns which advanced from the south and Captain Raikes, Deputy Commissioner of the Chindwin district, accompanied the column from the north.

There was at this time living in the Yaw country a man who, although he had no pretensions to royal blood, had assumed the title of "Shwe Gyo Byu Mintha"⁵ and had succeeded in raising a rebellion in October 1887 on the confines of the Chindwin, Myingyan, and Pagan districts. In the operations which followed, Captain Beville, Assistant Commissioner, and Major Kennedy were killed, and the pretender, being defeated, fled into the Yaw country.

The columns which operated in the Yaw country in the cold weather of 1887-88 dispersed the various dacoit gangs, and the Shwe Gyo Byu Prince fled to the Chin Hills.

This season's work in the Yaw country is important, as comprising our first serious dealings with the Chins from Upper Burma, for, although Cap-

¹ The Kabaw valley was ceded to Burma in 1834 by Manipur. The Rajah receives Rs. 500 monthly for this concession.

² Afterwards formed into the 1st Burma Rifles.

³ Maung Yit.

⁴ Maung Pa Gyi.

⁵ This so-called prince was a vaccinator in the Thayetmyo district at the time of the annexation of Upper Burma.

tain Raikes had met some Tashon Chins at Indin when he was paying the Kale Sawbwa a visit in March 1887 and had taken the opportunity of warning them against what had now been ascertained to be the regular annual Chin raids in the valley, they had not as yet been formally approached or interviewed.

Negotiations with the Chins.

Captain Raikes was instructed, not only to break up dacoit bands, but also to open up communications with the Chins and to prepare the way if possible for an exploring party through the hills to Chittagong. He was warned to be careful not to frighten or excite the Chins, the Chief Commissioner preferring to put off the exploring party rather than excite their hostility. Captain Raikes arrived in Kale at the beginning of December and, as the southern column drove no dacoit bands out of the Yaw country into the Kale valley, he was able to devote his whole attention to the Chins. Arriving at Kalemmyo on the 14th he sent messengers to the Siyin tribe, inviting the Chiefs to come to Kalemmyo and see him. On the 26th four Chiefs, Tunsun,¹ Howsun,² Dowsan,³ and Htensan, responding, a durbar was held at the Kalemmyo pōngyi kyaung.

The Chins were informed that the British Government had decided to recognize Maung Pa Gyi as Governor of the Kale State. As the Sawbwa had behaved in a loyal manner and had also paid tribute to the British Government the Deputy Commissioner was authorized to inform the representative Chiefs of the Siyin tribe that all raids within the Sawbwa's territory must cease and that, if in future any raids by members of the Siyin tribe occurred, they would be considered as acts of hostility towards the British Government and the Chiefs of the tribe would be held responsible for them unless they made over the raiders in custody to the Deputy Commissioner and caused all prisoners to be given up free of ransom.

The Deputy Commissioner was most anxious to encourage trade between the Chins and the Shans of the Kale State and informed the Chiefs that, if they ceased to commit raids and other acts of aggression in Kale territory, they might rest assured that the British Government would not interfere with them in any way; on the other hand, the Deputy Commissioner, as representative of the British Government, wished to meet the principal Chiefs from time to time and to maintain friendly relations with them.

As regards prisoners then in the Chin Hills, who were captured in former raids,⁴ the Deputy Commissioner did not consider that he was authorized to call upon the Chins to make any terms, as they were captured at a time when the Kale country was in a state of anarchy and before the Sawbwa's authority had been formally recognized by the British Government.

The route to Chittagong was discussed, and enquiry was made whether the Chins would object to the advance of a column of British troops through their country; also whether, in the event of their having no objection to such an advance, they could supply transport coolies and guides.

¹ Tunsun, the Siyin blacksmith, died in 1893.

² Howsun, brother of Kuppow, ex-Chief of the Siyins.

³ Dokshun, the chief adviser to the Chief of Sagyilain.

⁴ These have now all been released (1895).

Tunsun did most of the talking during the meeting and was profuse in his promise of friendship with the young Sawbwa. He stated that since the deportation of the old Sawbwa the Siyins had committed no raids in the plains.

Upon being questioned about Chittagong, Tunsun said that none of the Siyin and Sagyilain people ever went far beyond the western boundary of their tract; that part of the country was occupied by the *Liyo*s, who had no dealings with the Siyins, and that any attempt to proceed beyond the Siyin-Sagyilain western boundary would be certain to result in complications with the *Liyo*¹ tribe. Tunsun seemed much opposed to any exploration through the Siyin-Sagyilain tracts. He said that, if our column entered the Siyin-Sagyilain tracts and marched as far as the Nankathè (Manipur) river, a general panic, which he and the other Chiefs would be unable to repress, would ensue. As far as the Siyin tribe was concerned, he was sure that there would be no hostility, but the panic created by our presence would have a disastrous effect, and he strongly protested against any advance being made beyond the Letha² range.

As regards our visiting the Letha range Tunsun said that, provided we gave timely notice of our approach, there would be no objection to our going up the hill and not proceeding beyond it.

At the close of the meeting Captain Raikes gave presents to the Siyin and Sagyilain Chiefs, and the proceedings ended with a military display which seemed to impress the Chins.

Captain Raikes proceeded from Kalembo to Indin and sent messengers up to Falam to invite the Tashon Chiefs to an interview; Negotiations with Sonpek, the Head Chief of Falam, himself came down to the Tashons. Sihaung at the foot of the hills, but refused to go to Indin. Captain Raikes therefore proceeded to Sihaung and held a durbar on the 3rd January. The interview lasted four hours.

The chief matters of importance then discussed were—

- (1) The recognition of the Kale Sawbwa by the British Government.
- (2) Raids committed by the Siyin tribe in Kale territory.
- (3) The encouragement of trade between Chins and Shans on the east and between Chins and Chittagong on the west of the Tashon tract.
- (4) The advance of an exploring party through the Tashon tract to examine and report on the trade routes through the Tashon tract to Chittagong.

With regard to the recognition of the Sawbwa Maung Pa Gyi, Sonpek remarked that the whole of Burma belonged to the British Government, and that the British Government could of course nominate whomever they pleased as Sawbwa. He and his people were quite willing to recognize the Sawbwa in possession as ruler of the Kale country. No raids had been committed by the Siyin tribe since some members of his tribe had been interviewed at Indin in March 1887. This cessation of raids was attributed, to a great extent, to the influence exercised by Sonpek over Chins of the Siyin tribes, and

¹ Lai-yo. The Hakas call themselves Lai, and Yo is the general name by which the Chins call their race.

² The watershed between the Chindwin and Manipur rivers, known to the Chins as Tarnag.

Sonpek was congratulated on the success which had so far attended his intervention between the Siyin Chin^s and the people of Kale. Hope was expressed that he would succeed in preventing all raids in future and that in case the Siyin tribe should recommence raiding he would do his utmost to help the Sawbwa to resist. Sonpek replied that he had not sufficient authority over the Siyins and Sagyilains to stop raids and that he could not undertake to restrain them, but that in case raids should recommence he would willingly give all assistance in his power to the Sawbwa.

Captain Raikes explained to Sonpek that we were anxious to encourage trade not only in Burma, but also in Chittagong and now that the British owned all the country on the east and west of his tract, it would undoubtedly be a good thing, and advantageous for all parties concerned, that trade should be equally maintained with Chittagong on one side, and with Kale and the Chindwin on the other. With a view to ascertaining how this trade could best be developed, Captain Raikes was anxious to learn all particulars about the existing trade route and to visit it himself. Sonpek remarked that the question of a trade route between Kale and Chittagong through his country had never been raised by Burmese officials sent by the King of Burma or by the Kale Sawbwa. Captain Raikes replied that he knew that to be the case, and that the reason why no such proposal had previously been made was easily explained. When the last interview was held several years before, the Kale and Chindwin country belonged to the Burmese, while Chittagong belonged to the British; now, however, the whole of the country on both sides belonged to us and it was only natural that we should wish to open out trade.

Sonpek said that he was not prepared to answer any questions about the route; that such a route existed he had no doubt, but he knew nothing personally about it, and he considered it unadvisable that any advance should be made through the Tashon hills at present. He wished for time to consider the matter and he wished to consult the other Tashon Chiefs who were not at the durbār. He did not intend actually to object to the British Government sending a party through his country, but it was impossible for him to guarantee the safety of that party; his territory was extensive, the people wild, and he had no means of ensuring safety to life and property. If he gave any promise to the effect that a party sent by the British Government through his country would not be molested, he would be accused of treachery if afterwards the party met with any opposition. He therefore declined to say anything except that, so far as he was personally concerned, he had no objection to a party passing through his country, provided that he were relieved from responsibility in case the party met with opposition. He protested, however, against any advance being made immediately, or until he had had time to consult with the other Chiefs and to thoroughly prepare his people for our visit.

Sonpek also said that he was not in a position to give any particulars as to the country to the west of the Tashon tract. He did not know whether the Tashon tract adjoined Chittagong, or whether there were other tracts and tribes between Tashon and Chittagong, and he begged that no more questions might be asked as he was not accustomed to long interviews. The proceedings then terminated with a large distribution of presents, which Sonpek at first refused to accept, saying that he did not wish for presents, that he had brought none himself (he brought two baskets full of rotten

eggs), and that all he wanted was to make the acquaintance of Captain Raikes. After a good deal of talking he accepted the presents for himself and the other Chiefs. Major Macgregor, who was present throughout the interview, allowed the Gurkhas who accompanied the party to fire two volleys and five rounds of independent firing. The Chins were astounded at the effect of the volleys on a target at 500 yards.

After this interview Captain Raikes marched down the Kale valley intending in like manner to interview the Haka and Yokwa Chiefs, but learning that Captain Eyre was already in communication with them he turned round and marched through the Kale State to the Kabaw valley, meeting on the way some Sokte and Kanhow representatives who had come to visit him. The Chiefs, however, would not come on account of the raids which their tribesmen had committed the previous year in the Kabaw valley.¹ The reconnaissance into the Chin country after much deliberation was abandoned for the year, but Captain Raikes submitted a report setting forth the manner in which it should be undertaken during the next cold weather.²

Meanwhile Captain Eyre's negotiations with the Yokwa and Haka Chins ended abruptly and disastrously, for the three men whom he sent up to the hills to call the Chiefs were arrested by the Yokwas; two were murdered and the third Shwe Hlaing³ escaped, found his way to the Arakan Hill Tracts, and thence was returned to Captain Eyre at Pagan.

Events which led to the first Chin expedition.

A combination of circumstances now occurred which completely upset all our Chin frontier arrangements. The Shwe Gyo Byu Prince took up his residence in Tashon territory, and the *ex*-Sawbwa of Kale and his followers escaped from Mandalay and joined him. Maung Tòk San and Maung Tha Dun, officials under the *ex*-Sawbwa, who had been deported to Alôn for misconduct, joined the party, and finding the Tashons excited and suspicious after their interview with Captain Raikes, persuaded them to espouse the cause of the Shwe Gyo Byu Prince, and to aid him in fighting against the British Government.⁴ Accordingly on the 4th and 5th May a strong body of Tashons descended suddenly on Indin and carried off the Sawbwa of Kale to the foot of the hills. Here, on the 6th May, he was obliged to save himself by promising to join in the rebellion and he was allowed to return to his capital. Nearly all the Tashons then returned to the hills,⁵ while the Shwe Gyo Byu Prince, with a mixed force of Burmans and Chins, held Chingaing. The Sawbwa sent out 200 men to attack them and despatched messengers to the Deputy Commissioner of the Upper Chindwin

¹ Captain Raikes' diaries, December 1887 and January 1888.

² Letter from Captain Raikes to the Commissioner, Central Division, dated 10th February 1888.

³ Shwe Hlaing is the son of a Yokwa Chief by a lesser wife. He is at the present time a district interpreter and posted at Yokwa.

⁴ Note by Sir Charles Crosthwaite, dated 21st July 1888.

⁵ This story was accepted at the time, but is open to grave doubt. It is more than probable, when we consider his intrigues with the Wuntho Sawbwa in 1882, that the visit of the Chins to Indin was a blind, and that he went of his own free will and contracted some sort of an alliance with the Shwe Gyo Byu and the Tashon Chiefs.

for assistance. On the approach of the party, however, the rebels decamped to the hills.

Meanwhile the Haka and Yokwa Chins committed two raids in the Yaw country, killing eight and carrying off 28 persons. The Tashons committed two serious raids in the Kale valley, and the Siyins under Kaikam¹ attacked a party of Shans in the valley, killing one and carrying off four boys. Troops and police were hurried up to the Kale valley *via* Pakòkku and Kalewa, Brigadier-General Faunce taking command in person. Captain Raikes went to Indin with a large escort, to hold an enquiry into the circumstances of the carrying off of the Sawbwa. He was not attacked and he found no signs of the rebels. Arrangements were now made for the protection of the valley against Chin raids, and the advisability of punishing the Siyins, Tashons, and Hakas, collectively or separately, was discussed throughout the rains.

An ultimatum was sent to the Tashon Chiefs, ordering them to deliver up the Shwe Gyo Byu and his officers, and a message was also sent to the Siyins to deliver up Kaikam together with the captives whom he carried off. Whilst the advisability of merely protecting the valley, in lieu of sending a costly expedition into the Chin Hills, was still under discussion, the hands of Government were forced by the Siyin Chins, who came down to the plains, burning, killing, and capturing with the utmost daring; nor were the Siyins the only tribe on the war-path, for the Soktes swooped down on the Kabaw valley and the Tashons under the Shwe Gyo Byu ravaged the plains. During the month of October the Shwe Gyo Byu's men committed one raid, the Siyins committed five, and the Kanhows one. Within 12 days 122 Shans were carried off, 12 killed, and 14 wounded; moreover, the ancient town of Kampat² was entirely destroyed and Kalembo lost 35 houses by fire.

Brigadier-General Faunce, with whom Captain Raikes was associated as Civil Officer, had garrisoned the whole length of the Kabaw valley and the Kale State with a line of posts, but these in no way checked the ravages of the Siyins, who bade fair to devastate and depopulate the whole valley in spite of the strenuous efforts of both troops and police.

The expedition of 1888-89.

An expedition against the Chins on a modified scale was now sanctioned.

It was determined to deal first of all only with the Siyins and to inflict on them such a crushing blow as not only to cripple them for the future, but also to terrify the Tashons into giving up the rebel Shwe Gyo Byu, his followers, and the Shan captives. The month of November was spent in arranging for the expedition. Captain Raikes and his assistant Mr. Hall busied themselves with obtaining intelligence regarding the Chins, their villages, and the routes into their country. The General was engaged in massing troops at Kambal, and arranging for the better defence of the valleys. Hill coolies were collected in Assam and sent for the expedition.³

¹ Kaikam, son of Kuppow, now in the Andamans, undergoing transportation for life.

² The capital of the Kubo valley, which Pemberton says was a principality like Kale and Thangdut, until it was destroyed by the united forces of Pongand Manipur.

³ These coolies (Khasia, Kuki, and Tonkul) did not arrive until the middle of February.

Assam troops were sent through Manipur to the base of operations, and the 42nd Gurkhas, who were on their way to Assam *via* Manipur, were detained to increase the force. A levy of Military Police,¹ composed chiefly of Punjabis, was sanctioned to garrison the Yaw valley against the depredations of the Southern Chins, the Chinbòks, and Chinmès.

The plan of campaign decided on was to march first against Siyin,² the head village of the Siyins, and from this centre to deal with the surrounding villages of the tribe. At the urgent representation of the Political Officer the Kanhows were now included in the purishment which was to be meted out to the Siyins. The route selected for the advance of the column from Kambale was along the Chin path which descended from the summit of the Letha range on the immediate right of the Segyi stream. An advance could only be made after a road had been constructed, and at the beginning of December this road was commenced and for the first 6 miles ran along the level plain to the foot of the hills. Here an advanced stockade was constructed and rations pushed forward by cart transport.

On the 7th December the Siyins commenced the fighting by mortally wounding Lieutenant Palmer, R.E., who was in command of the Madras Sappers. He was shot through the stomach from an ambush close to the stockade and died the next day and was buried at Kambale. After this brushes with the enemy were continual, and reconnaissances up the hills invariably resulted in skirmishes. On the 24th a sepoy of the 2nd Gurkhas was killed whilst covering the working party. On Christmas day a determined attack was made on the working party, which was under the direction of Lieutenant Butcher of the 42nd Gurkhas. The Chins were in great force, and we now know that Tashons and Siyins were fighting side by side on this occasion. The Chins swooped down from the heights on to the party, which was working on a narrow spur, and attacked them from all four sides, fighting under cover of heavy undergrowth. The coolies bolted and the troops fell back after holding their ground for some little time. The loss of the Chins was not ascertained. Our loss was three mules and a pony killed and a sepoy of the 42nd Gurkhas, who, gallantly refusing to leave an officer's pony which was in his charge, was bodily carried off and subsequently killed by the Chins. Whilst disputing every stage of our advance into their hills, the Chins showed considerable tactical ability by taking the offensive in the plains and attacking Shan villages and our posts in the rear of the advancing column.

The Tashons in great force on the 10th December made a simultaneous attack on the camp and the village of Sihaung and also on the villages of Kyawywa and Kundu close by. The attacks on the villages and post were made simultaneously at about 4 A.M. Some 80 men attacked the camp of the detachment of the 42nd Gurkha Light Infantry, wounding two followers, one of them mortally. The troops repulsed this attack, whereupon the Chins, who were attacking Sihaung village, also took to flight. Captain Westmoreland, Commanding the detachment, went with a party through the jungle to the village of Kyawywa and, coming unperceived within 40 yards of the raiders, charged and pursued them for one mile, their loss being not less than twenty killed

¹ Afterwards turned into the 2nd Burma Battalion. | ² Koset.

and many wounded. Captain Westmoreland had sent another party under Lieutenant James to Kundu, but the Chins fled before he could come in contact with them. The pursuit was continued nearly to the foot of the hills some 7 miles off, but the enemy could not be overtaken, though many evidences of the execution done on them were visible. The detachment suffered no casualty. On its return, the villagers all turned out, cheering the men and giving expression to their satisfaction at the defeat of the Chins. On the same date Indin, the Sawbwa's capital (10 miles south of Kalembo), was fired into from across the river by the Siyins, while the Soktes and Kanhows attacked the military police post at Kangyi, some 20 miles north of Kalembo, but were repulsed and pursued, our loss being one sepoy wounded.¹

On the 30th December Sir George White arrived at Kambale and accompanied the force, which continued steadily advancing up the hills, the Sappers assisted by coolies making a road in their track, along which were constructed rough stockades, in which the troops slept and rations were stored. The troops found their route always heavily stockaded and the stockades generally held by the enemy, who never ceased to ambush when opportunity occurred, both day and night.

On 27th January the road-making party was again confronted by Chins. The working party was sent back to the stockade and the troops, now unencumbered, attacked the enemy, who retired slowly, making a stubborn resistance, till they reached some formidable and skilfully placed stockades, where they made a stand. Sir George White, at our stockade, hearing heavy firing in front, joined the attacking party with a small reinforcement of the 42nd Gurkhas, and at once ordered, and took prominent part in, the charge, which was "brilliantly led by Lieutenant-Colonel Skene, D.S.O."² Sir George White, in a telegram³ to the Chief Commissioner of Burma, described the action as follows:—

"Enemy yesterday attacked our working party on road above this and held our covering party, 40 British and 100 Gurkhas, from 9 till 2, when I arrived and ordered their positions to be charged. We carried all, driving them entirely away, getting off ourselves wonderfully cheaply. Only one Norfolk dangerously wounded. Enemy in considerable numbers, using many rifles and plenty ammunition. They fired at least 1,000 rounds, standing resolutely until actually charged, even trying to outflank us. Their loss probably about eight or ten, but they were carried down the khuds at once. Most difficult enemy to see or hit I ever fought."

The result of this action was a serious blow to the Siyins and they now realized that it was impossible to save their villages. The fight had taken place on one of their historic battle-fields, for it was here that they had overthrown an army sent against them by the King of Burma in former days. On 22nd January after several skirmishes, in which we suffered loss, General Faunce proceeded to the summit of the Letha range and from an altitude of 8,200 feet looked down on the Siyin villages lying 3,000 feet below him.

¹ Brigadier-General Faunce's report, No. 305C., dated the 25th April 1889. Captain Railes' diaries.

Private and official correspondence during the expedition and information received from the Chins (1889 to 1895).

² Afterwards killed in Manipur.

³ Telegram No. 32, dated the 28th January 1889.

No. 4 stockade¹ was established on 31st January and No. 5 three days later. Accompanied by Sir George White and Major Raikes, General Faunce advanced on Koset (Siyin) on 4th February with a strong force.²

Descending from the high range on to the village, he gave the Chins but small chance of resistance, and they did no more than fire a few shots and then busied themselves with carrying off their household goods. The enemy then set fire to their own village, which, with the exception of six houses, was reduced to ashes before the arrival of the troops. After the halt of a few days to bring up food and bedding, the troops attacked and captured without difficulty the two large villages of Bweman and Toklaing. On the 13th the column left the camp at Koset and moved to Toklaing, where a post³ was built, the houses of the village furnishing material for it.

The Siyins now approached the Political Officer, but would not produce their Burman slaves, and it was evident that their intention was to procrastinate until the rains set in and so prevent active operations against them. Their messages and promises were also shown to be worthless, as the troops were continually fired on and the post fired into. The troops therefore starved out from Fort White, and by 6th March not a single Siyin village remained in existence. The destruction of the Siyin villages was accomplished with a good deal of firing, but very little damage to life and limb.

Meanwhile the Soktes and Kanhows had tried to persuade the Political Officer that they had no Burman slaves and begged that they might pay a sum of money, a few cane mats, and some beeswax to appease the Government, and they asked that we should neither demand their guns nor attack their villages. The negotiations fell through, and on the 9th March General Faunce advanced into the Sokte country with a large force, accompanied by Major Raikes, to attack the tribe. The first objective was Wunkathe and Saiyan.

After very difficult marching and in the face of determined opposition Wunkathe, a village of 220 houses, was reached and found to have been fired by its inhabitants. It was completely destroyed together with large stores of grain. From Wunkathe the column proceeded on the 10th March to Saiyan, now scrambling up the side of a hill, almost a cliff as General Faunce describes it, now descending for over 1,500 feet by a precipitous track barely the width of a man's foot. Saiyan was occupied after an attempt at resistance, the inhabitants making their way with difficulty, and after incurring considerable loss, across the Nankathè. After destroying Saiyan, the force marched on to Tiddim.⁴

¹ Known to the Burmans as Esin and to the Chins as Aichaic.

² Norfolk Regiment	...	...	5 officers.	176 rifles.
No. 1 Bengal Mountain Battery	...	...	1 officer.	2 guns.
42nd Gurkha Light Infantry	...	...	6 officers.	250 rifles.
No. 2 Company, Sappers and Miners	...	...	2 officers.	91 rifles.

³ The original Fort White. Since then the name has been twice transferred and is the name by which we know the post situated just below the demolished stockade of No. 5.

⁴ Called Tigyin in records of the period.

This village was the home of Kochin, at this time Chief of the Kanhow clan; the Kanhows consequently fought well in the defence of their capital, wounding four sepoys and setting fire to the village when they could no longer protect it. General Faunce names the enemy's losses at 25 killed and 45 to 50 wounded.

After the fall of their capital the Kanhows made but poor resistance and their remaining villages on the left bank of the river and south of Tiddim were destroyed, either by the troops or by the Chins themselves, with little trouble and loss.

After punishing the Kanhows, the troops returned to Fort White and Major Raikes opened up negotiations with the Tashons, which at first promised well, for Boimon, a Falam Chief of standing, came to the Nattan stream¹ to interview him.

The result, however, was disappointing, as the Tashons refused to surrender the Shwe Gyo Byu and his associates, and they were not in a position to enforce the surrender of the Burman captives held by the Siyins and Kanhows, as Major Raikes then considered them able to do.

The season was now too far advanced to think of crossing the Manipur river, and so the expedition to the Tashon capital had to be postponed for the year.

On 4th May the last action of the expedition was fought and it merits full description. Some new huts had been noticed on the site of Tartan, and to destroy these a party was sent from Fort White on 4th May. The following account is taken almost *verbatim* from the report of Captain C. H. Westmoreland, 42nd Gurkha Light Infantry.

The column, consisting of 65 rifles of the 2nd Battalion Norfolk Regiment and 60 rifles of the 42nd Gurkha Light Infantry, occupied the heights above New Tartan without opposition. The main body advanced with the intention of rushing the village, but encountered determined resistance from the Chins, who were strongly posted in two stockades.²

The upper stockade consisted of a log-hut, the sides and roof of which were bullet proof. It was connected with a ravine to the east by a trench about 3 feet wide, 5 feet deep, and 20 yards long. The trench was covered with logs and planks flush with the ground. The hut itself was surrounded at a distance of 5 or 6 yards with rows of sharp-pointed stakes about 3 feet high. The second stockade was in the bed of the ravine. It consisted of a hole about 6 or 9 feet square, from which a trench ran down the ravine.

¹ The theoretical, though not the actual, boundary between the Siyin and Tashon tracts.

² The village called by us "*New Tartan*" is known to the Chins as Shellum, and they give the following account of the fight. Shellum was a settlement in which about 100 persons of the Bweman clan lived. They had built block-houses in case of surprise by the troops, who actually did surprise them, the first intimation they received of their approach was seeing a fox-terrier which was in advance of the troops. The Chins, men, women, and children, all crowded into the block-houses, approximately 80 in number; they had time to get well into their positions as the troops marched past the village before they saw it. The troops then turned and attacked the block-houses. Twenty-nine Chins were killed and 11 wounded. Lyen Kam, the Bweman Chief, was killed. There were 40 untouched persons left in the block-houses when the troops retired. The Tartan Chief's (Dolyin) youngest brother was killed and Tan Chim, another brother, wounded. Dolyin came out of it all right, but five years later died in the Myingyan jail.

Both trench and hole were covered with logs and planks and were bullet-proof. In both stockades there were a few spaces between the logs through which the Chins fired, and the only way in which they could be carried was by pulling away some of the timber.

At the lower stockade, early in the action, Second-Lieutenant Michel fell mortally wounded. The troops at first endeavoured to turn out the defenders of the upper stockade by firing through the openings between the logs. Before long the covered trench was noticed and pulled open and the Chins in it were shot. After accomplishing this under fire from the Chins in the lower stockade and in the neighbouring jungle, the column retired, burning the village as it went. The Chins, who had suffered heavily, did not follow, being deterred by the loss which they had sustained and kept in check by a small covering party on the heights. In this action our loss was one officer killed and two (Captain Mayne and Surgeon LeQuerne) severely wounded and three men killed and eight wounded. Surgeon LeQuerne received the Victoria Cross for conspicuous coolness and gallantry displayed whilst dressing Lieutenant Michel's wound.

The expedition now closed and the garrison of Fort White settled down for the rains. The fort consisted of grass and mud huts, built by the Madras Sappers and Miners,¹ who did their work with skill and speed. Fort White was connected with the Kale valley by a mule-track and telegraph line. The line of communication was held by four stockades.² Major Raikes remained in the hills as Political Officer and Colonel Skene in command of the troops.

The Siyin and Kanhow Chins were now living in encampments near their respective cultivations and, though beaten and driven from the village sites, they maintained a dogged demeanour, showing no signs of surrender, and worrying us whenever opportunity offered.

Whilst General Faunce was engaged in fighting his way up the Chin Hills, a very serious state of affairs had existed in the Yaw country, for the inhabitants, who were armed, broke out into open rebellion, and, assisted by the Southern Chins, espoused the cause of the Shwe Gyo Byu Prince. At first the rebels more than held their own, for an ill-advised retreat of a detachment from Kan left the country temporarily in the hands of the rebels. Troops, however, were quickly sent to the front, marching down the Kale valley as well as up from Pakókku, and, after some sharp fighting, the rebellion was quashed and the inhabitants of Yaw disarmed.

This brings the history of the Chin Hills up to the end of the season 1888-89. We had 67 casualties during the expedition and the state of affairs was that all the Siyin and 18 of the Kanhow villages had been destroyed, and our troops now occupied their tract. The Tashons were harbouring the Shwe Gyo Byu Prince and would not comply with our demands, and the Yokwa and Haka Chins were still unmolested and unvisited, and had in no way suffered for warring on our troops and raiding in our plains.

¹ Under command of Lieutenant Wright, R.E.

² No. 2, No. 3, No. 4, and No. 5, approximately 5 miles apart.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHIN-LUSHAI EXPEDITION, 1889-90.

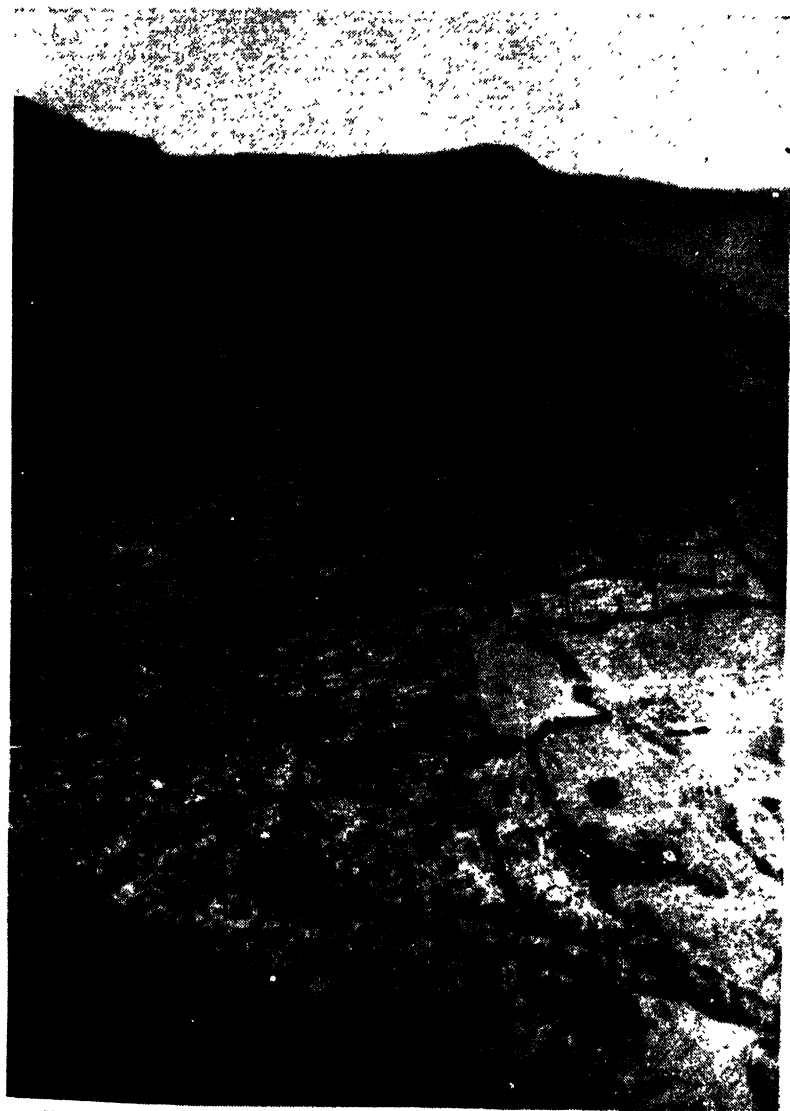
AS soon as the rains had begun and the troops had settled down in Fort White the Siyins began to give trouble. The fort was in reality no fort at all, but consisted of houses, scattered on the side of a hill and surrounded by an abattis of kaing-brush and sticks, whilst at various points of vantage block-houses were built for the guards. The Chins, who are cat-like in their movements, soon learnt that their power to annoy us lay in their skill in creeping into the fort between the sentries, and night after night the cattle-pens inside the piquets and abattis were found to have been visited and cattle stolen. On one occasion the whole herd of 70 head was carried off, but was recovered. Another time a drabi was shot and decapitated in the middle of the fort, the Chins escaping through the sentries. One night in June a determined attempt was made by the Chins to set fire to the house in which the Myoök and the interpreters were living. The Chins crept into the post and set fire to the roof of the house; the damp thatch, however, only smouldered and the Chins, being discovered, decamped after firing a volley through the house and into the sepoys who were attracted by the shouts of the Burmans. The intention was to shoot all the guides and interpreters and the plan was to reserve fire until the Myoök and his people should rush out of the burning house, when by the light of the fire they could be easily picked off. The persistent annoyance did not end within the limits of the fort, for small parties of Chins hovered about the post and fired from ambush whenever occasion offered, and as there was much work going on inside the post and on its approaches the Chins had many chances of "sniping." The 42nd Gurkhas, however, did not let the Chins have matters entirely their own way, for they used to lie out at night in Naga parties, and on occasions the Chins returned to their camps with their dead comrades instead of with our live cattle.

Throughout the rains Major Raikes kept up negotiations with the Soktes, Siyins, and Tashons, and although he succeeded in recovering 186¹ Burman captives from the two former tribes, he was unable to get into touch with the people who, refusing to surrender guns and the majority of their slaves, never lost an opportunity of ambushing convoys, cutting the telegraph wire, and firing into the post. The Tashons, throughout the rains, had shown a desire to be friendly, but quietly and studiously evaded our demands for the surrender of the Burman rebels living in their tract.

Meanwhile Major Raikes from Fort White and Mr. H. Hall, his assistant in the Kale valley, were steadily acquiring all the requisite information to enable troops to advance and occupy the whole Chin country. Major Raikes' propositions for future operations were laid before the Government early in the rains and his suggestions were practically those adopted as the plan of campaign in the ensuing open season.

In August 1889 Sir Charles Crosthwaite visited the Chindwin, and after discussing matters with Major Raikes issued a proclamation to the Tashons. The Chief Commissioner declared his intention of sending a force to their chief village; and promised the Tashons immunity from punishment and an amnesty for past

¹ Including the 41 recovered during the expedition of 1888-89. Many of these escaped and were not surrendered.



1. 2010-2011

Survey of India Office Calcutta, November 1908

17. FALAM VILLAGE (a).

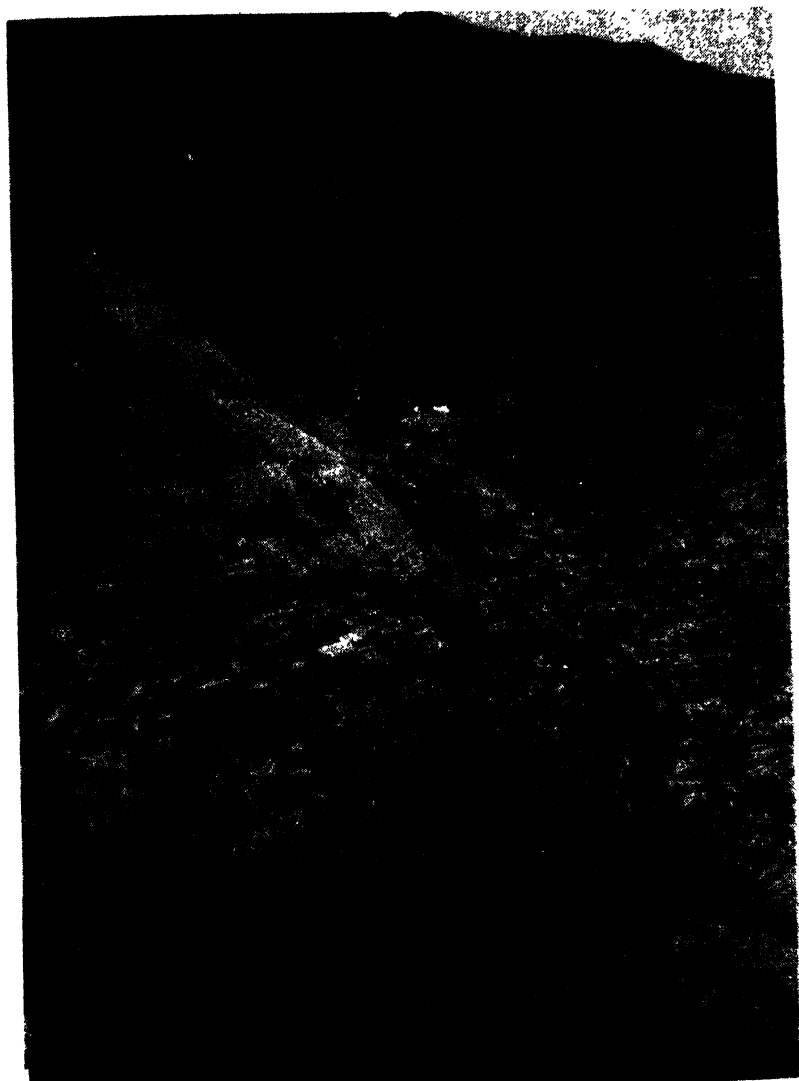


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Survey of India Office, Calcutta, November 1904

17. FALAM VILLAGE (b).

offences on condition that they assisted the troops in their march and did their best to compel the Siyins and Kanhows to surrender their captives. The Chiefs were required also to meet the officer in command of the British force at the chief village, to deliver up all captives in possession of the tribe, and to pay a fine of Rs. 10,000. The payment annually of two elephant tusks and ten silk sheets as tribute was made a further condition. Failure to comply with these terms would involve the severest punishment. Being unwilling to drive the Tashons to extremities, the Chief Commissioner waived the condition previously imposed which required the surrender of the Shwe Gyo Byu Prince and made no mention of the demand for the delivery of guns by the Soktes and Siyins.

Arrangements for the Expedition.

Orders for an expedition from Burma and Chittagong, to be styled the Chin-Lushai expedition, were issued from Army headquarters on 5th September 1889. The troops operating from Burma were to be divided into two columns, one called the Fort White column operating from Fort White as a base against the Siyins and the tribes between the base and the Manipur river, the other called the Gangaw column starting from Gangaw as a base and advancing *via* Yokwa on Haka. A force called the Chittagong column was to march from Lungleh to Haka, making the road as it advanced. After the arrival of the force at Haka, flying columns were to move northward against the Tashons and in such other directions as the General Officer in command might decide in consultation with the Political Officers. The objects of the expedition were declared to be the punishment of tribes which had committed raids in British territory and had declined to make amends, the subjugation of neutral tribes which had come within our sphere of dominion, the exploration of the country between Burma and Chittagong, and the establishment, if necessary, of semi-permanent posts in the hills to ensure complete pacification and the recognition of British power. Brigadier-General W. P. Symons was placed in command of the expedition with full control in political as well as military matters.

Mr. D. Ross succeeded Major Raikes, who was invalided to England, as Political Officer with General Symons' column, and Mr. B. S. Carey was appointed Assistant Political Officer with the Northern force in succession to Mr. Hall.

In December, prior to his proceeding on leave, Major Raikes held an interview with some Tashon representatives at Sihaung. The result of the interview was not satisfactory, the Chiefs professing themselves unable to answer for their tribesmen if troops advanced through their country. At the same time the *ex-Sawbwa* of Kale, who was present at the interview, announced his intention of surrendering, and soon afterwards gave himself up. After his submission he was ordered to remove to Pakōkku, where he remained in receipt of an allowance from Government until his death. A few days before the meeting at Sihaung, Major Raikes was instructed to warn the southern tribes that it was intended to march troops through their country, and that they must surrender all their captives, pay a fine on account of raids committed by them on British districts, and assist the march of the troops, under penalty of severe and immediate punishment.

On the 15th November field service commenced. The Southern column, which was to advance from Kan into the Southern Chin Hills under General Symons, consisted of 1,869¹ men. The Northern column, which was to operate from Fort White, consisted of 1,622 men under Colonel Skene.²

In addition to the above force the whole length of the Kale and Yaw valleys was guarded by military police posts, and the line of communication to the foot of the hills was held by troops, the 10th, 33rd, and 38th Bengal Infantry and the 2nd Madras Infantry supplying the garrisons.

To ration the Northern column was no very difficult task as during the rains the Madras Sappers, under the direction of Mr. Groves, the Executive Engineer, had converted the temporary track used by General Faunce into a capital mule-track, and rations were brought up to Kalewa by steamer, thence by country boat to Kalemyo, and thence by bullocks³ and mules in five stages to Fort White.

To ration Kan, the headquarters of the Southern column, promised to be the General's greatest difficulty as it lay 165 miles from the river at Pakòkku and 136 miles from Kalewa. For only the last portion of the journey from Pakòkku was water carriage practicable, and the river way from Kalewa was not only blocked for half a mile by rapids, but the river was full of snags which prevented the use of launches. The whole rationing of the Southern column as far as Kan had therefore to be effected by means of carts and country boats.

Lieutenant Holland of the Indian Marine was in charge of the rationing of Kan, and at the close of the expedition his name was amongst those on whom honours were conferred.

Advance of the Southern column.

The first objective of the Southern column was Haka *viâ* Yokwa, and the Sappers under the command of Major Henry, R.E., at once commenced making a mule-track, while the troops were employed in constructing a temporary bridge across the Myittha at Kan. The men worked with water up to their chests and the

		Rifles.
1 The Southern column consisted of	1st Battalion, King's Own Scottish Borderers ...	500
	No. 1 Bengal Mountain Battery ...	84
	No. 6 Company, Queen's Own Sappers and Miners	151
	2nd Battalion, 4th Gurkha Regiment ...	410
	2nd Madras Infantry ...	630
	Burma Company Queen's Own Sappers and Miners	94
		<hr/> 1,869
2 The Northern column was composed of	1st Battalion, Cheshire Regiment ...	300
	42nd Gurkha Light Infantry ...	477
	No. 5 Company, Queen's Own Sappers and Miners	95
	10th Bengal Infantry ...	460
	38th Bengal Infantry ...	290
		<hr/> 1,622

³ Cattle-disease broke out in the Kale and Myittha valleys in February. In Kale alone the mortality of buffaloes was reported at 3,000 head.



Photo etching.

Survey of India Office, Calcutta November 1900

4. HAKA CHIEFS.

water was icy cold, being fresh from the hills. It was calculated that the column would reach Haka in 10 or 12 days, but such were the unexpected difficulties of the country that, with the whole strength of the force devoted to making the 64 miles of road, the head of the column only reached Haka in 66 days, whilst the mule-road was not completed until the 77th day from commencement of work.¹

The advance of the column to Haka was not opposed until Taungtek was reached, when a few shots were fired into camp, and a few days later a road-making party was fired on, the havildar being killed. At dawn on the 28th December the Chins made an attack on our camp, which was easily repulsed, and later on the same day General Symons, with a party of 70 Gurkhas, came upon the Chins, in number about 400, occupying some stockades on the top of a knoll over which the Yokwa path led. The Chins fled after a feeble resistance, and on the 8th January two Yokwa Chins came to the General's camp and communication with the tribe was opened. This soon resulted in the formal surrender of the Yokwa Chiefs. The next day Lieutenant Foster and two officers whilst strolling outside the camp were fired at by a few Thetta men from ambush and Lieutenant Foster was shot dead.² In consequence of this, the nearest village, Lamtok, was burnt.

¹ Calculating the altitude of the Haka hill at 7,000 feet and the plains at Kan at 1,000 feet, it is found that to reach Haka from Kan by this road one has to rise 13,000 feet and descend 7,000 feet before reaching Haka.

² It is with the greatest regret that the death of Second-Lieutenant Kinglake Foster, of the King's Own Scottish Borderers, is reported, on Sunday afternoon, the 12th. He in company with Surgeon-Major Burke, M.S., and Lieutenant Pratt, Scottish Borderers, went for a short stroll from their camp at Taungtek, along a path that coolies and convoys have daily been passing lately. When about 1½ miles from camp two shots were fired at them by some Chins in ambush about 15 paces to the right front. Lieutenant Pratt, who had his revolver, ran forward and fired two shots in the direction of the Chins, and then two more at the men as they bolted down the hill, apparently without result. On looking back he saw at once that Lieutenant Foster had been hit. They had just crossed a small bridge, and it is presumed the poor young fellow was turning back to look at it, as he was following close behind Dr. Burke, and was shot in the back of his head. His skull was fractured, but the bullet did not pass through or damage his face in any way. Death must have been instantaneous. He had his revolver, but was given no time to load. Dr. Burke and Lieutenant Pratt carried the body in turn as far as they could, one watching the rear, fearing the Chins might try to cut them off. After some signal shots had been fired, the Gurkhas' piquet and others came out to their assistance, and brought them back to camp, where Lieutenant Foster was buried next morning.

He was a fine promising young officer, always well and cheery, and ready for any work. Although with only a little over 12 months' service, he was a great favourite with officers and men.

In consequence of Lieutenant Foster being killed by the Chins, General Symons despatched orders that the nearest village to Taungtek was to be burnt at once. A force of 50 Borderers and 50 Gurkhas, under Colonel King-Harman, moved from Taungtek yesterday to the opposite side of the valley to the village of Lamtok, and finding the inhabitants had bolted, excepting two men who were taken prisoners, they destroyed the entire village and returned to camp across the valley. They were eleven hours under arms and had some hard climbing.

General Symons has again warned all deputations coming in that if any more shots are fired at troops or coolies, the nearest village will be burnt at once. It is particularly fortunate that the Political Officer was enabled to explain to the prisoners the reason for burning the village of Lamtok. The prisoners were released.—*Official Report.*

General Symons, after fining Yokwa for its past offences and recovering Burman captives, continued his march to Haka, where the Chiefs and people were found quite friendly, though obstinate in their refusal to give up their Burman captives.

After much discussion 18 Burmans who had been raided from Sihaung were handed over to Mr. Ross, and the demand for the remaining slaves was allowed to rest until after the march on Falam. Whilst waiting for the mule-path to reach Haka reconnaissances were made to the west to explore the country, obtain the submission of the Klangklang tribe, and get into touch with the Chittagong column which had advanced eastwards from Lungleh to join hands with General Symons' column.

All the objects of the reconnaissances were peacefully and successfully obtained. On the 26th February the advance parties of the Burma and Chittagong columns met at Tao, 52 miles west of Haka. Captain Rundall, who commanded the Burma party, and Captain Shakespear, the Lushai Intelligence Officer, acting on information received, succeeded in recovering the head of Lieutenant Stewart,¹ together with his gun, aneroid, and field glasses, and the heads and rifles of the Europeans and the sepoy who were killed at the same time.

During February and March the amount of sickness in the Southern column was so enormous that it threatened at one time to frustrate all the plans of the campaign. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the campaign was the extraordinary distances covered in such a difficult country with a column so reduced by sickness.

Of the 69 British officers who served with the Southern column, only seven escaped malarial fever, whilst one died and 26 (two of whom afterwards died) were invalided from this ailment alone.

The following table indicates the extent of the sickness among the troops.

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The following table indicates the extent of the sickness among the troops :—

Columns.	Average strength during campaign.	Total admissions to hospital.	Deaths.	Invalided.	Killed.	Remarks.
<i>Northern Column.</i>						
British officers ...	35	12	...	9	1(a)	(a) Major Gordon-Cumming, Cheshire Regiment.
British troops ...	252	277	3	32	1(b)	(b) Private Watson, 1st Cheshire Regiment.
Native troops ...	1,380	1,031	30	109	5	
Public followers and coolies	1,300	359	39	207	...	
<i>Southern Column.</i>						
British officers ...	61	33	1(c)	26	1(d)	(c) Captain Grimshaw, 5th Royal Fusiliers.
British troops ...	310	484	21	276	...	
Native troops ...	1,315	1,238	17	257	1	(d) Lieutenant Foster, 1st King's Own Scottish Borderers.
Public followers and coolies	2,073	1,738	96	1,206	...	
Total all ranks, both columns	...	...	207	2,122	9	

¹Lieutenant John Stewart, of the Leinster Regiment, was killed by "Shendus" near Rangamutti in 1888, whilst engaged on survey work.

The construction of a post at Haka having been begun and the mule-track from the plains completed, on the return of the party from the Klangklang country, the General was able to advance on Falam. The Northern column had received orders to co-operate with the Southern column. The date now fixed for the simultaneous arrival at the Tashon capital of the two columns was the 11th March.

Progress in the Northern Hills.

At this stage we will leave the Southern column and bring the account of the Northern operations up to the date of marching on Falam. In November, shortly after the date of the commencement of field operations, a column under the command of Major Edge (Cheshire Regiment) set out from Fort White to attack Shwimpi (where Kuppow, the Siyin Chief, had made his home since the destruction of Koset) and the surrounding villages of Dimpi and Dimlo. The Chins at once came out and met the column and fought throughout the day and most of the night, killing one and wounding two riflemen of the 42nd Gurkhas. The Chins burnt their villages themselves and followed up the column on its return almost to Fort White, mortally wounding a private of the Cheshire Regiment. Some live-stock was captured and some standing crops destroyed by our troops. On the 11th December Major Gordon-Cumming destroyed Mōntōk, which had been rebuilt during the rains. The Chins made no attempt to save their huts, but attacked the column on its return march.

Mr. Carey arrived at Fort White on the 23rd December, bringing orders from General Symons to Colonel Skene to hold himself in readiness to march on Falam. On the 3rd January consequently the troops and coolies were set to work on improving the Chin track towards that place. The road was made for 12 miles to the southern slopes of the Ledaw range into Tashon territory. Here an advanced post was built, rations were stored, and orders to move on the capital were awaited. During January and February, however, these orders did not come on account of the delay caused by the slow progress of the Southern column, which was due to sickness and the exceptional difficulty of the road trace to Haka.

Experience had taught us that nothing was attained by merely burning the Siyins' houses. Whilst awaiting orders to advance on Falam, the Assistant Political Officer therefore, on Colonel Skene's advice, proposed and received sanction to attempt to gain the surrender of the Siyins through negotiations. The Sagyilains, who were living in camps not far from the Yawlu post, were prevailed on to visit the post where Mr. Carey now made his headquarters, and by daily intercourse with the people whom he visited in their camps he induced Mang Lon, the Chief, to surrender on the 17th January. His surrender was important, as being the first, and through him all future negotiations with the Siyin tribe were managed.

Looking back now on the past five years of trouble and anxiety in the Siyin tract, it is a satisfaction to dwell on the conduct of Mang Lon, the only Chief of a clan who was clean-handed in the Siyin rebellion of 1892.

Mang Lon informed the Political Officer that the conduct of the Siyin tribe would depend entirely on the result of the Tashon expedition, and that, if the Tashons did not fight, the Siyins were not prepared to continue the struggle alone. This appeared reasonable, and what amounted to practically an armistice was then arranged until the time when the advance should be made on Falam,¹ and Chins from all the clans then came in to camp to talk and barter. During those two months, which were spent in waiting for the Southern column to advance, our friendly relations with the Siyins and some of the Sokte Chiefs who came into Yawlu improved daily. Dok Taung, the Chief of Molbem,² however, could not be induced to surrender, although twice he had left his village for that purpose. Finally it was arranged that a column should visit the village to enable the Political Officer to meet him. Every precaution was taken to ensure a peaceful visit; messengers were sent on in front, and Sagyilain Chins accompanied the column which marched from Yawlu on the 1st March under the command of Colonel Skene.

We marched through several unheld stockades and all went well until the column was three miles from the village, when March to Molbem. Lyim Tum, the Dabon Chief, met the column and warned the Political Officer that we marched on the village at our peril. The reply given was to the effect that we had started at the invitation of the Chief and that we must pay our call on him at the village. The Chins then dived into the jungle and a few minutes later a volley was poured into the head of the column from the high hills on the right at a range of 200 yards; a sharp skirmish resulted as the troops drove the enemy out of its position. The column then continued its march, the Chins keeping up a desultory fire from the bush, and when the two villages were reached they were found in flames. Thirty-seven houses, which escaped the flames, were burned that night by the Chins themselves, who agreed that all must suffer alike. Such was the temper of the Chins at this time that they wantonly destroyed these houses which we had passed by and left untouched. Our losses on this occasion were one private and one havildar, both severely wounded.

Advance of the two columns on Falam.

On returning from Molbem General Symons' order to advance on Falam was received and the Northern column, consisting of 350 rifles and one gun and commanded by Colonel Skene, Arrived at Old Falam. marched out of Yawlu on the 8th March. The Southern column marched from Haka *via* Minkin to Falam, whilst Colonel Skene's column marched *via* Shinshi, Bwekwa, and Lati to Pate. At 8 A.M. on the morning of the 11th signalling communication was established between the two columns, and when the camps were pitched, in order to advertise our presence to the multitude of Chins who had assembled on the large cultivations on the west of Falam, the Northern column fired three blank rounds from the gun, whilst three large dynamite cartridges were exploded by the Southern column. The Political Officer with the Northern column had during January got well into touch with the Tashon Chiefs and the Northern Tashon villages. Neither columns had met with any resist-

¹ At this time we erroneously believed that the Tashons had unlimited control over the Siyins and Soktes.

² Called Mobingyi by the Burmans.



Photo etching.

Survey of India Office, Calcutta, November 1906

22. MANLON SAGYILAIN CHIEF.

ance, though the Minkin Chief on the border of the Tashon territory had done his utmost to dissuade the Southern column from advancing, and again near Falam the Chiefs protested against camp being pitched near the village. The Northern column camped at Pate and the Southern column about a quarter of a mile from the village called Tashon.¹

In the afternoon of the 11th March General Symons summoned the Falam Chiefs and read out the terms which had already been explained to them some three months previously by Major Raikes. The Chiefs, to our intense surprise, after permitting the columns to approach their capital unopposed, firmly and politely declined to acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government by paying tribute; and, without absolutely refusing, expressed their doubts at being able to pay any portion of the fine imposed on them for harbouring rebels and raiding in the plains.

The General dismissed the Chiefs with a solemn warning to carefully consider their final answer, which was to be given within two days. At this time the whole valley, in which formerly lay the original village of Falam, was full of armed Chins, numbering not less than 3,000 men, gathered from all sides; the host seemed to settle itself in groups of from 10 to 100 men; they were quiet in demeanour, but held their heads high and seemed quite prepared for whatever might be the result of the negotiations. The crowd was a motley one, the Tashon Chiefs dressed in the gaudy tartan of the tribe, well armed with bright guns, vermilion and black parti-coloured da scabbards, and beautifully inlaid powder-horns. The Wherohs were conspicuous by their *chignons*, which contrasted with the lofty head-dress of their neighbours, the Yahows, who were present carrying the strange "Shendu" chopper-shaped da in basketwork scabbards. Scattered around in bunches were the scowling Siyins, the half-breeds from Tawyan and Minlèdaung, the semi-independent clique of Kwungli, and the trans-Nankathè tribesmen of Sokte and "Poi" origin. The congregation was armed with a variety of weapons; spears and flint-lock guns predominated, but bows and quivers of barbed arrows were carried by not a few. Each man bore his food-supply for a few days on his back.

Doubtless it was the presence of this large force drawn from so many tribes and from the very borders of the Lushai country that induced the Tashon Chiefs to show a bold front, fully believing that with our small force we should be alarmed at the display of the Chin strength. The Chiefs when they informed General Symons that they would not pay tribute were quite sincere and intended to fight rather than pay, though they preferred to gain their end without fighting if possible. It must be remembered that the Tashons held a unique position in Chinland at this time. All the tribes from Manipur to Haka and from Burma to Lushai owed them nominal allegiance and the Tashons, realized that their prestige would be gone and the name of Falam lowered in the eyes of Chinland if they in common with the petty clans had to pay tribute and acknowledge the supremacy of the white men.

¹ Old Falam.

The next day General Symons with a small party met Colonel Skene and a large escort at the river below Falam village. The Preparations of the Tashons to resist. march revealed the elaborate fortifications which had been built to intercept the Northern column. The lines of fortifications commenced on the river bank, the first stockade commanding the Lomban stream. All fords in the river were commanded by *sangars* built with boulders and rocks, some of which exceeded 100 yards in length. From the river to Falam village the road passed through innumerable stockades, rifle-pits, and *sangars* which had been constructed with enormous labour, but without regard to military requirements, which evinced the fact that the Tashons are deficient in military training, for the lines of stockades had invariably no flanks, and by moving off the road a small party of rifles could have enfiladed and turned the whole line of fortifications.

Mr. Carey accompanied General Symons back to his camp and the next day the latter with his two Assistant Political Officers held a durbar. The Tashon Chiefs, having realized that the General intended to get the fines and tribute or fight, and being doubtful as to the result, now accepted the terms in full and at the same time begged that the fine might be reduced to one-half; tribute for one year and one-half of the fine being paid up, the General remitted the other half, not wishing to be too severe on a tribe which acknowledged itself defeated.

Looking back now one is disposed to admit that it was probably wise to procure the surrender of the tribe in peace. But for the three following years, whilst the Tashons were chafing under our rule and encouraging north and south to rebel against us, it seemed a pity that we had not attacked and utterly routed that army, which was quite ready to try conclusions in 1890 and which would have experienced a crushing defeat owing to its numbers and the open country in which it was camped. The Chins would thus have learnt at the outset how small was the power of the Tashon tribe and how easily it was broken, and how futile was resistance.

After the durbar the General returned to Haka and the Northern column to Fort White. General Symons, accompanied by Mr. Ross, at once started to explore the tract south of Haka, and in a 10 days' tour succeeded in penetrating as far as Naring. This tour was entirely successful; a large expanse of hitherto unknown country was entered in the maps and the inhabitants welcomed the troops everywhere. On the return of the column from Falam the Hakas no longer attempted to evade the surrender of their slaves, who were soon back in their homes in Burma.

When the expedition closed the only village which openly appeared to be in an unsatisfactory frame of mind was Thetta, which resolutely refused to surrender its Burman slaves and behaved badly when visited by Mr. Ross. The rains, however, prevented an immediate settlement with Thetta.

On the return of the Northern column to Fort White the Siyins were at once called upon to redeem their promise (as the Operations against the Siyin. Tashons had surrendered) and to give up their slaves. The Chins, however, temporized and the settlements of the Bweman clan were forthwith attacked and destroyed by seven parties,

which moved out from Fort White, No. 5 Stockade, and Yawlu post. The No. 5 party had a brisk skirmish with the enemy. After this operation the Yawlu post, which was built especially as an advanced post for the march to Falam, being no longer required, was evacuated and burned by Major Gordon-Cumming, who marched with the garrison for Fort White on the 23rd March. On the way a Chin¹ who was lying in the grass by the side of the road shot Major Gordon-Cumming through the stomach and he died almost immediately.

Pimpi was next attacked by two parties, one starting from Kalemio and the other from Fort White. The Chins burned their village, to which Kuppow had recently transferred the headquarters of the Siyin Chins. As was to be expected, our return march from the village was one steady fight, in which we had two sepoy killed and a havildar wounded.

Tanya was next attacked by a party of troops from Kalemio who, however, only burned one of the three settlements, whilst on the return march two sepoy were killed by the Chins, who fought and followed up the party for several miles. Colonel Skene then sent a party of the 42nd Gurkhas to destroy the two Tanya settlements, which was duly done without loss and with very little fighting. The Kalemio troops were ordered up to assist in the operation.

At last the Siyins began to submit and to give up their slaves. On the 24th April Mr. Carey held a durbar and read out the Submission of the Chief Commissioner's terms of surrender. They specified Siyins. that the Chins should pay yearly tribute and that each clan might rebuild its village as soon as its slaves were surrendered. The terms of submission were accepted by the Siyins.

Results of the season's work.

Reviewing the work done in the Chin Hills during the campaign the two things which strike one most is, first, that the whole programme was carried out in spite of the terrible sickness of the Southern column, and, secondly, the enormous distances covered by the Southern column after Haka was at last reached.

The resistance met with during the expedition was slight. In the south this was due to the fact that the Hakas, finding that the Yokwas were unable to resist the column, determined to follow the action of the Tashons, and the Tashons did not fight.

The Northern column would have had plenty of bush-fighting had the previous years' policy been followed. As it was, we hoped to gain our ends by a more peaceable policy and the Chins hoped, by accepting our offers of peace, to evade our demands.

The losses in action during the expedition amounted only to 16 in the north and to two killed in the south.

¹ Kamsut, a half-bred Tashon and Sagyilain and a slave held in common by the Bweman and Molbem Chiefs. As this man was living with the Sagyilains and peace had been declared with that clan, Kamsut's act was treated as murder and not as an act of war and he was hunted for nearly five years. Finally he was surrendered by the Sagyilains and sentenced on the 3rd December 1894 to transportation for life. He escaped from his guard a few days later as he was being led to Kindat jail and has not again been heard of (March 1895).

The result of the season's work in the south included the submission of the Yokwas, Hakas, Klangklangs, and Tashons, and of the independent villages of Wunhla, Runklao, Naring, and Hripi; the recovery of 77 captives; and the levy of fines for past misconduct and of annual tribute for the future.¹

In the north the four Siyin clans had tendered their submission and their Chiefs had met the Political Officer. Of the Sokte tribe the five villages nearest our posts had submitted, and Twum Tong, the Chief of Kaptyal in the Nwengal country, had sent in a slave and friendly messages. Fifty-six Burman and six Manipuri slaves had been surrendered, and the heads of sepoys which had been taken were given up.

At the close of the expedition the Sagyilain and Toklaing² clans were considered to have surrendered all their slaves and were allowed to re-build their villages. The other Siyin clans were still surrendering slaves. The Siyins had given up ambushing convoys and firing into the posts, but had taken to cutting and carrying off the telegraph wire and they never lost an opportunity of stealing from our posts at night. Although Mr. Carey had induced the Siyins to surrender by adopting a milder policy than that of his predecessor, he was not satisfied that their submission would be permanent.

At the end of the campaign permanent posts were established at Haka, Fort White, and No. 3, No. 4. and No. 5 Stockades.

The 2-4th Gurkhas (300) were told off with 30 Sappers as the garrison for Haka, and the same corps (300) with 30 Sappers as that for Fort White, while the 10th Bengal Infantry furnished garrisons of 150, 75, and 100 rifles respectively for the three stockades.

The Chin Hills were now treated as two districts—the Northern Chin Hills with headquarters at Fort White were administered by Mr. Carey, and the Southern Chin Hills which included the Tashon tribe and, in addition to Haka, the independent villages, were placed in charge of Mr. Ross with headquarters at Haka.

CHAPTER V.

THE EVENTS OF 1890-91.

THE political charge of the Northern Chin Hills changed hands no less than four times during the rains on account of illness. Mr. Carey was invalided to England and relieved by Mr. Rawlings, who in turn gave way to Mr. Szczepanski and later on to Captain Rundall, 2-4th Gurkhas, who was at that time Commanding the Northern Chin Hills.

¹ Yokwas gave up five captives, paid a fine of Rs. 500, and tribute one mithun. Hakas gave up 66 captives, paid a fine of Rs. 300, and tribute three mithuns. Klangklangs gave up six captives, paid a fine of Rs. 500, and tribute three mithuns. Tashons paid a fine of Rs. 5,000 and tribute Rs. 500 or five mithuns.

² Slaves were recovered from the Sagyilains for the next two years and the last slave was not returned from the Toklaings till 1895. The Northern Chins were supposed in 1890 to have about 250 Burman slaves, but we have got nearly 600 up to date and another half a dozen are still unaccounted for.

In August 1890 when Captain Rundall assumed charge he found that the promises made by Kuppow, the Siyin Chief, to Mr. Carey were not being kept, and that the Chins still retained their slaves, and at the same time cut the telegraph wire so persistently that communication with the plains was more often interrupted than open.

Eventually this annoying behaviour of the Siyins had good results, for a party of the 4th Gurkhas, whilst proceeding on escort duty, managed to capture two Siyins in the act of cutting the wire. These turned out to be influential men, and were sent to the Myingyan jail.

The Political Officer now met the Siyins on equal terms and offered to release the two Chins for the 17 Burmans who were known to be still in captivity. After much discussion and many meetings, some of which were held in the jungle, between Captain Rundall with 10 sepoy and Kuppow and Kaikam surrounded by a large armed following, the Siyins agreed to surrender the 17 Burmans.

On the 1st September, at a durbar held by Brigadier-General Wolseley, who was on inspection duty in the Chin Hills, the Siyin Chiefs formally took the oath of submission and friendship to the British Government and accepted Captain Rundall's terms, which included the surrender of all slaves and a promise to cease raiding on the plains and cutting the telegraph wire. The yearly tribute fixed for the tribe was Rs. 200 in cash or kind and an elephant tusk and Rs. 100 in cash were accepted as tribute for the first year. After the Burmans had been made over to Captain Rundall he released the two Siyin prisoners.

The submission of the Bweman and Siyin clans now completed the surrender of the Siyin tribe, which had commenced in January 1890, when Mang Lon of Sagyilain came in.

Captain Rundall was much disappointed with the subsequent conduct of the Siyins, as the wire was continually cut throughout the year, although it would appear that this was done against the wishes of the majority and the orders of the Chiefs. On one occasion the Chiefs handed up the culprits and on another occasion the four clans each voluntarily came forward and lodged security that the wire would not be cut, but threats and exhortations failed to deter the more unruly members of the tribe.

Naga parties¹ were sent out at night to ambush wire-cutters, and on one occasion a party of the 38th Bengal Infantry came upon Chins in the very act. They, however, escaped after shooting dead the havildar of the party.

Dealings with the Soktes and Kanhows.

As soon as the last clan of the Siyins had formally surrendered, Captain Rundall turned his attention to the Soktes and Kanhows who had fought against Major Raikes in 1888-89, and who had hardly been dealt with at all in 1889-90.

¹ Parties of half a dozen sepoy without boots and with very little clothes, who took their rifles and a few rounds and who lay about in the grass and waited for the Chins to approach.

The first object was to get in touch with Kochim, the Kanhow Chief, Dok Taung, Chief of Mobingyi, and with the Chief of the Successor to Nwengal villages. Kochim, however, was on his death-bed. His death early in September complicated matters, for the Kanhows divided into two parties, one following Yetol and the other upholding his young nephew, Howchinkup. According to the tribal custom the youngest son remains with his father until the latter's death, when he inherits the chieftainship; the elder sons, it is presumed, having founded their own villages and taken care of their own interests. The custom of itself is sufficient to cause chaos at the death of a Chief, but on the death of Kochim a more than usually intricate state of affairs existed.

Old Kanhow had eight sons, of whom Yetol was the eldest and Kochim the youngest. At Kanhow's death in 1868 Kochim succeeded, but he had no sons and so the son of the next junior of Kanhow's sons by right succeeded to the chieftainship. This was Howchinkup, the son of Howpun, seventh son of Kanhow.

Howchinkup was a boy of 18. Right was on his side, but he had always been kept in the back-ground living with his widowed mother (his father having been killed by Yahows some 18 years previously); consequently he found it difficult to assume supreme control of the tribe in the face of his uncles, who were now old men and who had acquired immense influence over the clan. The tribe was divided against itself and Captain Rundall tried his utmost to win over Yetol and his party, and through them to obtain the submission of the clan.

The attempt failed, for, although Yetol was induced by Myoök Maung Tun Win to visit Captain Rundall and to give up three captives, he expressed himself unable to surrender any more slaves, and later, when Captain Rundall took an oath of friendship with Yetol's immediate following, he found that it was impossible to obtain through them the surrender of the clan.

Subsequently our relations with the clan became strained, for the Kanhows and their northern tributary villages of the Thado and Nwitè tribes raided Wituk in the Kabaw valley. Captain Rundall warned the Kanhows that if they raided into Burma they would assuredly be punished, and he exhorted them to behave in a rational manner. His threats and exhortations were accepted by the Kanhows in exactly the same way as Edgar's advice was received by the Lushais in 1871, for the Kanhows instantly committed a series of raids into the Kale-Kabaw valleys. The raids were accomplished in the usual manner, much property was destroyed and carried off, several heads were taken, and from Pinthawa village 14 Burmans were carried captive to the hills.

Although Captain Rundall's negotiations had fallen through with the Kanhows and it was now necessary to send an expedition against them, he had been successful in obtaining the submission of several of the Sokte villages, and in addition to the five villages which had submitted at the beginning of the year, Dimlo, Dimpi, Mobingyi, Phailian, Phunum, and Kholai now took the oath of allegiance.

During the rains it was considered that Toklaing, the site of Fort White¹ was naturally unhealthy and the post was removed to the summit of the Letha range within a few hundred feet of No. 5 Stockade, which was erected by General Faunce in 1888-89. The Siyins carried the material from one post to the other and took contracts to bring up galvanized iron from the plains.

At the commencement of the open season the Government directed Captain Rundall to take punitive measures against the Kanhows and on no account to allow the Pinthawa raid to go unpunished.

The objects of the expedition which was sanctioned included the liberation of captives, the punishment of raiders, the subjection of the Kanhows, and the exploration of the Kanhow tract towards Manipur.

The plan of operations was to form a base at Tiddim and thence to work through the Kanhow tract if necessary, attacking Tunzan² by the way. The village of Mwelpi was fixed upon as the furthest point to which it was proposed to extend the explorations, and it was arranged that a column entering the hills from Auktaung in the Kabaw valley should co-operate with the Fort White party and also attempt to reach Mwelpi.

The force from Fort White consisted of—

2 guns of No. 2 Mountain Battery.
150 rifles, 2-4th Gurkhas.
150 rifles, 39th Garhwal Rifles.
50 rifles, 4th Madras Pioneers.

The transport consisted of 300 Gurkha coolies.

As the season's work also included the building of a new Fort White and the construction of a road along the range from Fort White to Falam, Captain Rundall found his transport insufficient to meet his requirements. His difficulties were surmounted, however, by Lieutenant Churchill and the Madras Pioneers, who made a mule-track to Tiddim *via* Wallawun, and the greater part of the rations for the column were placed in Tiddim by mule carriage.

On the 24th January Captain Rundall arrived at Tiddim without meeting opposition, although the Kanhows had fired at night into Lieutenant Churchill's camp, killing a havildar of the 2-4th Gurkhas. Here, whilst awaiting the guns and rations, Captain Rundall employed the troops in building a strongly fortified temporary post. Howchinkup also came to see him and tried to bargain as to terms, but finding that he could neither dictate his own nor dissuade us from adhering to ours, he left Tiddim and returned to Tunzan, from which direction rumours of resistance and war reached the column.

¹ Old Fort White or Mwiton is now re-occupied by the Toklaing clan, who enjoy good health. There is no doubt that the unhealthiness of the site was exaggerated and the sickness of the troops was due to the hard work which they had undergone and to the fact that all posts are unhealthy for the first year or two on account of removing the surface soil and excavating for house-building. The site of old Fort White was well chosen and was too readily abandoned.

² After the troops had destroyed Tiddim in 1888-89 the Kanhow Chiefs removed 20 miles north and made the capital at Tunzan.

On the 11th February Captain Rundall left his outpost at Tiddim and marched on Tunzan, which he reached on the afternoon of the third day and pitched camp immediately below the village near the existing burial-ground. The Kanhows came out to meet the column and gave up a few slaves, some elephant tusks, and the heads of the Burmans taken at Pinthawa. They then asked the Political Officer for pity. He replied that he had come to punish, not to pity.

During the next two days Captain Rundall endeavoured to persuade the Kanhows to submit, but finding that this would be a slow process, he left the guns and 140 men under Lieutenant Pearse at Tunzan and himself pushed on with 110 rifles to explore north. The party was only away six days, but explored as far as Shielmong,¹ 80 miles from Fort White. The party did not get into communication with the Auktaung column and no resistance was encountered. It was ascertained that the Mwelpi people had participated in the Pinthawa raid, and that village was heavily fined on the spot.

It was ascertained afterwards that Captain Presgrave, who commanded the party of the 2nd Burma Battalion from Auktaung, had made a demonstration in the Thado tract, in which lies Balbil and the surrounding villages. The Civil officer who accompanied him had not been able to get guides, and the party found it impossible to find its way across the high and densely wooded ranges which separate Mwelpi from the plains. Captain Presgrave and the Chins exchanged a few shots, and one slave was recovered from the enemy.

On Captain Rundall's return to Tunzan, he found the Kanhows obstinate in their refusal to submit, so he called up Howchinkup and solemnly warned him that unless the captives were surrendered by the night of the 23rd the village would be attacked. The Kanhows, however, scoffed at the idea of attack and gave up no slaves. Captain Rundall then made his arrangements and attacked them. In the early morning the village was surrounded and surprised, notwithstanding the nature of the ground, which rendered movement in silence a matter of difficulty. After suffering severely in their attempts to break through the line of sepoys, the Chins at last surrendered in order to save the village from being shelled. Three of the Chiefs, Howchinkup, Tankaphao, and Ngien Zathung gave themselves up. Twelve Kanhows were killed and a number wounded, and 21 prisoners were taken in this engagement. On our side there were no casualties.

The Kanhows now hurried in with their captives, and 24, including all the Pinthawa captives, were given up after the attack. In all 39 captives were recovered² and the fine and tribute paid in full.

The Kanhow column then returned to Fort White, taking their Chin captives with them and leaving behind a garrison of 100 men; of the 39th Garhwalis at Tiddim.

¹ Also called Lenacot.

² During his term of office Captain Rundall recovered 75 captives.

Whilst Captain Rundall was away on the Kanhow expedition a new source of trouble had appeared, for the Soktes, who live west of the Nankathè river and who are commonly called the Nwengals, crossed the river in small parties, cut the telegraph wire, and fired into our posts, killing a farrier of the Transport Department at No. 2 Stockade and a naique of the 2-4th Gurkhas at Fort White.

The Siyins, too, had misbehaved, having cut the telegraph wire and stolen from our posts. On one occasion a Siyin wanted some vegetables and, accompanied by his small sister, he crept into the Commissariat garden, where it so happened a Naga party was lying that night. The man was shot dead, and the little girl not only made good her escape, but with the greatest pluck and presence of mind carried off her brother's gun.

Captain Rundall received some guns for these outrages, and he was anxious to subdue the guilty Nwengal villages. As, however, it was then believed that the Nwengals were a part of the Tashon tribe, it was arranged that the matter should be dealt with by Mr. Ross, who had already been instructed to visit Falam. Captain Rundall was directed to co-operate with the Southern column and to meet it at Falam.

The Fort White column marched from new Fort White along the range¹ through Kholai to Pate and pitched camp opposite Falam and near the site of Colonel Skene's camp of the previous year.

Progress of events in the Southern Chin Hills.

The rains of 1890 had been an anxious time at Haka. The garrison² was too small to take the field, and Mr. Ross was hampered by having, in addition to his duties in the hills, charge of the Gangaw subdivision of the Pakôkku district, which necessitated his frequent absence from Haka. The Hakas were not convinced that we had come to stay, and some of the minor Chiefs were openly chafing at our occupation. On more than one occasion the Tashons were approached with a view to the conclusion of an alliance and a distinct plan of attack was at one time actually formulated in Haka-Kotarr, which village looked for support from the west.³

Only the want of cohesion among the Chiefs themselves made these schemes abortive. The peace of the hills, however, was marred by the Haka-Yokwa feud, which broke out afresh and threatened innumerable complications. Thefts of cattle from the post and quarrels between the sepoys and Chins were of frequent occurrence, and an accident with a revolver by which, for a second time, a Yokwa met his death nearly brought us into collision with that tribe. Patient negotiation and sympathetic treatment, however, carried us on to the middle of November without serious disturbances, and up to that time we were on good, if not cordial, terms with all the large tribes. Our presence in the Southern hills had done

¹ The 4th Madras Pioneers were now making a road direct to Falam from Fort White along the range and thus Captain Rundall was able to save his column from making the long detour via Yawlu and Bwekwa, which was the route taken by Colonel Skene's column in 1889-90.

² 300 rifles of the 2-4th Gurkhas.

³ Principally the Klangklang and the Haka villages on their southern border.

much to stop the promiscuous bloodshed which was indulged in before our occupation.

With Thetta village, however, we had made no progress. During the open season General Symons had refused to accept their submission until they had surrendered all their captives.

This they had obstinately refused to do, and our relations with them had remained unchanged. The other tribes wishing to test our power and seeing that this might be done without risk to themselves if they could get that village to fight, did not cease to taunt the Thettas, and eventually induced them to believe that in any case we should destroy their village. The Chiefs of Thetta still counselled peace, but some of the younger men, thus urged on and instigated more especially by emissaries from Yokwa and Kotarr, attempted the life of the Political Officer at Haka¹ and afterwards fired a volley into the Madras guard stationed at Chaunggwaw.² Having once committed themselves to open hostility, it became a point of honour that all should be equally involved to ensure united action and responsibility, and a series of outrages were, during December, committed on the Kan-Haka road.

Late in November sanction was given for an expedition against Thetta, but the ill-health of the Haka garrison and the want of transport caused delays, and it was eventually decided that the column should start on the 12th December, on which day a ration convoy was due from Kan. This convoy, however, did not arrive, and no news of it was received as the telegraph line had in the meanwhile been destroyed below Yokwa by the now openly avowed enemy. It was thus necessary to again postpone the expedition, and a party of 40 rifles under Lieutenant Ducat, 2-4th Gurkhas, with Mr. C. H. P. Wetherell,³ Assistant Superintendent of Police, was despatched to restore communication.

This party reached Chaunggwaw, repaired the telegraph line, and returned to Rawwan without opposition, but on the 21st December, when the party was within three miles of Yokwa, a volley was fired from an ambuscade and Mr. Wetherell, who was in advance of the party, was shot dead. On the 24th a duffadar was killed and three mules wounded; on the 30th a Gurkha was shot; and on the 31st two Burmans were killed at Taungtek.

On the 30th December a reinforcement of 40 rifles, Burma Sappers, reached Haka, and on the 1st January the Thetta column of 135 rifles, commanded by Captain Carnegie, 2-4th Gurkhas, with Mr. Ross, Political Officer, left for Thetta. On the 2nd, when about two miles from the village, the fighting began, the Thettas taking advantage of the thick jungle fired from ambuscades placed in every favourable position, and we lost two sepoy killed and one wounded before the village was reached and rushed. The Chins met the charge with heavy volleys from their fortifications and the troops, unable to penetrate the hedges of cactus, had to withdraw. An attempt was now made to reconnoitre the village, and, while doing so, Lieutenant James, R.E.,⁴ was shot dead.

¹ 18th November.

² 7th December.

³ Mr. Wetherell was assistant to Mr. Ross and had joined his appointment on the 7th August 1890.

⁴ Lieutenant James is buried at Haka.

It was now decided, in view of the position of the village and the heavy stockading, that the force was insufficient to run the risk of the heavy losses which must occur if the village were forced, and as the Thettas had sent messages by the Haka Chiefs who accompanied the party that they wished to surrender, Mr. Ross reluctantly abandoned his intention of destroying the village and accepted a fine in guns and live-stock. The Thettas were then allowed to swear friendship and the column returned to Haka.

On account of the unsatisfactory result of the Thetta expedition, orders were now given that the wing of the 2-4th Gurkhas should remain at Haka during the open season and that the 39th Garhwal Rifles, who were to have relieved them, should march to Thetta. They were to be met there by a column from Haka and, after realizing the outstanding fine and leaving a small post at Thetta, the combined columns were to work in the country to the south.

The Garhwal Rifles, with Colonel Mainwaring in command and Lieutenant Macnabb,¹ Political Officer, advanced *via* Lunhaw and Bondwa, meeting the column from Haka on the 5th February. The Thettas came out to meet the columns and the fines were duly paid. Mr. Ross now returned to Rawvan, where he met General Graham, and final arrangements were made for an advance on Shurkwa and two guns of No. 2 Bengal Mountain Battery were pushed on from Chaunggua to join the column, which now consisted of 300 rifles. On the 14th February this column,² with Colonel Mainwaring in command, moved from Thetta, and occupying Kapi on the same day, imposed a fine in guns for a raid committed near Gangaw,³ fixed an annual tribute, and enforced the surrender of the captives still in that village.

On the 16th the column advanced by the Paizôn road, spies having reported the direct Shurkwa road to be heavily stockaded. This manœuvre turned a strong position held in force at the Boinu ford, from which the Shurkwas were driven by a few volleys, while a feeble attack on our rear-guard was easily repulsed. The column camped near the small village of Paizôn, and at daylight next morning commenced to shell Shurkwa, but the Chiefs surrendering, further hostilities were stopped and the village occupied. With some difficulty eight captives were recovered, a fine in guns and live-stock inflicted, and the tribute realized. The oath of friendship was then taken and several villages,⁴ under the influence of Shurkwa, having tendered their submission, the column returned to Haka. The results of the expedition were the submission of the villages of Lunhaw, Bondwa, Kapi, Paipa, Paizôn, Longrang, Aika, and Tonwa, the subjugation of Shurkwa, and the surrender of 13 slaves.

¹ Lieutenant Macnabb was in independent political charge until the columns joined forces at Thetta, when he was appointed assistant to Mr. Ross.

² 2 guns No. 2 Mountain Battery under Lieutenant O'Leary, R.A.

125 rifles, 2-4th Gurkhas under Captain Carnegie.

150 rifles, 39th Garhwal Rifles under Lieutenant Mocatta.

25 rifles, 4th Madras Pioneers.

³ A party from Kapi fired on some boats on the Myittha river

⁴ Aika, Longgran, and Tonwa.

In the meanwhile the 4th Madras Pioneers, under Captain Stevens, had been pushing on the Haka-Falam mule-track, and Mr. Ross was staying with their advance camp quieting the suspicions of the various villages, collecting transport, and carrying on negotiations with the Tashon Chiefs, who now assumed a peaceful attitude. At the end of February Mr. Ross returned to Haka (his place with the Pioneers being taken by his assistant, Mr. H. N. Tuck¹) and arranged for a strong column to accompany him to Hranhrein, the Chief of which village had refused to come into Haka. Hranhrein was reached on the 4th March, and a peaceful and satisfactory settlement having been come to, Mr. Ross, with a small escort, returned to Haka *viâ* Pai, Faron, Byaote, and Kobe.

Second expedition to Falam.

General Graham now fixed the 10th March as the date on which the Haka-Falam column should start, and on that day a column² of 300 rifles and two guns under the command of Colonel Mainwaring, accompanied by Mr. Ross and Lieutenant Macnabb, Political Officers, marched from Haka along the new mule-track, which was now finished as far as the Minkin hill. On the 13th, after a peaceful march, the column camped on the same spot as in 1890 on the north-west side of the capital, the Northern column, as already related, encamping near Pate. The reception of the columns was friendly, but the Tashons had gathered in force around their mother village, and both columns were very closely watched by Chin piquets.

On the 14th Captain Rundall, the Political Officer with the Fort White column, joined Mr. Ross, and a durbar was held and the annual tribute of five mithun paid. The question of the tribal responsibility of the Tashons for the Nwengals, who had committed the murders on the Fort White-Kale road, was discussed as follows. It was decided that if the Tashons would promise to deliver up the offenders, who were reported to have fled into the Lushai country, should they at any time return to their territory, and agree to pay a fine and be responsible for their future good behaviour, a punitive expedition would not be sent against the Nwengals. These proposals were at once accepted by the Tashons. The fine was fixed at four mithun and two guns. In accordance with the wish of the Chiefs, the troops did not march through the village of Falam.

On the 16th the Haka column started on its return march, leaving Lieutenant Macnabb with the road-making party under Captain Stevens, who had not yet completed the mule-track. During the next four days the road was completed, and Lieutenant Macnabb, who had seen much of the Falam Chiefs during this time, had gained valuable information regard-

¹ Mr. Tuck had been appointed in Mr. Wetherell's place and had joined on the 17th January 1891.

² 2 guns No. 2 Mountain Battery under Lieutenant O'Leary.
150 rifles, 2-4th Gurkhas under Captain Carnegie.
150 rifles, 39th Garhwal Rifles under Lieutenant Evatt.
35 rifles, 4th Madras Pioneers under Captain Stevens.



Photo-exchange

Survey of India Office, Calcutta, November 1960

3. KLANG KLANG CHIEF.

ing the sentiments and customs of the Tashons. The party returned to Haka on the 21st.

The Fort White column returned by the same road by which it had advanced, and as it had been arranged that no expedition should be undertaken in the Nwengal country, the season's work was closed, the extra troops returned to Burma and the northern garrisons settled down for the rains.

Later events in the Southern hills.

On the day of the return of the Tashon column the Yokwa post was fired into and a sentry wounded. Enquiries failed to elicit the names of the offenders and it was decided to hold the nearest village, Yokwa, responsible. Mr. Ross, who was on his way to Burma on leave (having handed over political charge of the Southern hills to Lieutenant Macnabb¹), halted at Yokwa, while guns and a strong escort were sent from Haka, and the payment of a fine of Rs. 400 was enforced.

On the 29th March Lieutenant Macnabb, with a column² of 100 men 39th Garhwal Rifles, with two guns, under the command of Lieutenant Mocatta, started for Tao. The object of the expedition was entirely peaceful, firstly, to meet and confer with the Klangklang Chiefs and explain to them that the Government insisted on their abstaining from all raiding, and secondly, to meet messengers bearing information and letters from the Superintendent, South Lushai Hills. On arrival at Klangklang, however, the Chiefs of the tribe were all so drunk that it was impossible to interview them, and leaving some Hakas to watch the village the column pushed on towards Tao, where information was received that the Klangklang Chiefs were out of hand, that they had attempted to raise a force to oppose our advance from Haka, and that a party of armed Chins had been seen near the Laawvar stream. Some of the Haka Chiefs with Lieutenant Macnabb elected to stay at Tao, promising to join the column next day, and on the 2nd the return march to Haka was begun.

Meanwhile news had been brought in to Mr. Tuck, Assistant Political officer at Haka, that the Klangklangs had arranged to attack the column. A strong force under the command of Colonel Mainwaring was therefore at once organized and proceeded by forced marches. Klangklang village itself was surprised and occupied without a shot being fired on the morning of the 2nd.

At about the same time the Klangklangs, led by Lalwe and Koizway, attacked Lieutenant Mocatta's column as they were halting for breakfast at the Laawvar stream. The story of the attack is told thus by Lieutenant Macnabb:—

"I had not been there two minutes and we were just discussing what the total desertion of Hyrankan might portend, when the question was settled by the Chins, who opened fire on us from all sides. The Military officers ran to their posts, whilst I, thinking the attack was a mere surprise which would speedily be repulsed, took cover to finish my breakfast, until I was undeceived by seeing wounded sepoy's staggering to the water, and finding the enemy's fire maintained. I then went forward to see if I could be of any assistance

¹ On the 23rd March 1891.

² One hundred rifles 39th Garhwal Rifles under Lieutenant Forbes and two guns No. 2 Mountain Battery under Lieutenant O'Leary.

and joined the advance guard, where I found that Lieutenant Forbes and Jemadar Amara Singh Negi had both been wounded. One mountain gun under command of Sergeant Moore came up to reinforce the advance guard, and the men being rallied, the enemy were driven back for about half a mile by good, steady skirmishing, two Chins being killed to my own knowledge. Taking up a strong position on a commanding knoll, the advance guard was halted to enable the main body and rear-guard to close up. Leaving the advance guard I then went back to the main body, where I found Lieutenant Mocatta, Officer Commanding, and Lieutenant O'Leary. I then found that two men were dead and Lieutenant Forbes and some 13 other wounded men had to be carried. Lieutenant Mocatta collecting his dead and wounded men, pushed on, keeping his column well together in spite of the terrible manner in which he was handicapped by having to carry so many dead and wounded with only two dhoolies. Pushing on under continued fire we came to the Bupi stream, which is commanded on both sides by precipitous hills descending to the nullah in walls of rock, the stream flowing in the gully thus formed. This position was stubbornly held by the enemy, hidden behind trees, rocks, and a hastily run up stockade on the left, others firing from behind huge trunks of fallen fir trees still smouldering from a recent fire. In vain our sepoy attempted to skirmish up these heights. They were too precipitous to be scaled, so, while the mountain guns opened fire on the position on the left, the men crossing the stream, and running through the gully under heavy fire, carried the hill to the right, where, being speedily joined by Sergeant Moore and his section, the latter quickly got his gun into action and silenced the fire from the opposite hill. We here halted until every one was up and took stock of our position. We were 40 miles odd from Haka; we expected opposition for at least 30 miles; we had 13 wounded men (some mortally) to carry, and two dead we had exhausted over one-third of our ammunition; we had only two days' rations left, and our only hope of relief was in some of the men I had left in Klangklang reaching Haka and reporting to the Commanding Officer there. On this hope, however, we dared not count, as it was certain that the Klangklangs would make prisoners of my Chins to prevent them giving information. It was therefore determined by Lieutenant Mocatta, after grave discussion, to put the men on half rations, to burn our dead as we could neither carry nor leave them, and push on as best we could to Haka. A huge fire being made (under a dropping fire), the dead were placed on it, and, thanks to the wood being pine, they were soon consumed. Such was the caste aversion to do this on the part of the men, that the officers themselves had to personally assist in this duty. This accomplished we pushed on to the Tidai stream, where men and mules were watered and mussocks and water-bottles filled as we could not encamp in the valley. During this portion of our march the Chins confined themselves to firing on our rear, following us up to our camp on the summit of the Tidai range. Here we made a zareba of the surrounding trees and made up our minds to pass the night. Water there was none, as the sepoys had drunk all they got at the Tidai stream, nor could we venture to light fires for fear of directing the fire of our enemies. The sepoys therefore could get nothing to eat and yet not one complained. In this manner ensconced behind mule saddles and mule loads, we passed the night, being kept awake by the groans of the wounded and dying, and for these even we had not enough of water, although all there was was of course sent to the hospital. The enemy drew off at night and there was no firing. Next morning, as soon as it was light we made preparations for continuing our march. One unfortunate sepoy had died during the night and we had to burn his corpse before we made a start. As soon as we began to stir in camp the enemy fired a few shots into us, but no one was hit. All the road between our camp and the Twaylam range had been destroyed, whenever it was possible, by breaking down the path in precipitous places, pulling down the bridges and felling huge trees across the path. We had to re-make the road for yards together and otherwise make the road passable for the mules and guns. This delayed the column greatly and gave the enemy ample time to harass the rear-guard. On arriving on the Twaylam range we found that two more men had died in the improvised stretchers of blankets of their wounds and the terrible jolting it was impossible to avoid. We had therefore again to halt to burn their corpses before we could push on. The village of Twaylam being quite close to us, I urged the Officer Commanding to send a party to burn them, in order to show the enemy that we were not too disheartened to attempt retaliation. The Officer Commanding, however, did not consider that he was justified in losing any time or in separating his force, crippled as he was with so many wounded. Passing the spot where the path to Twaylam branched off we saw a curious sight. A dog had been killed and disembowelled and tied by its four legs and thus stretched on a rope suspended between two sticks across the path to the village, its entrails being likewise suspended between two

other sticks, thus barring the road to the village. Asking the Chins with me what this might mean, they said that was an offering to the war nat to protect their village and to ward off our bullets from injuring them. Descending the Twaylam range we reached our old camp about midday and made a short halt to water men and animals ere attempting to force the passage of the Whikyip range, where I was warned we should be attacked in force. This camp is in a basin surrounded by hills on all sides clothed with dense jungle, to which we set fire to drive away the enemy. As it was our great object to force our way past Klangklang village before nightfall, so as to enable me to send messengers on to Haka to get aid for the wounded, we could not halt long enough to allow of the sepoys cooking any food. A handful of gram was therefore served out all round, which the sepoys and coolies declared would suffice them until we reached the Lavar. The column then moved off to force their way up the Whikyip, which they skirmished up in a stubborn manner, carrying the crowning heights which were found occupied by the enemy at the double and without loss. At the top a halt was made for the rear-guard to close up, and all the country before us to Haka being fairly open, all felt that the worst of our march was over. Descending to the Lavar, someone saw a flash from the village of Klangklang which resembled that of a heliograph, just as No. 1 gun was coming into action to disperse a body of the enemy to our front. Our heliograph being rapidly brought up, it was soon ascertained that Colonel Mainwaring was occupying the village of Klangklang in force. Heliographing for a doctor and all medical assistance available to meet us at the Lavar, we pushed on down to the stream, where we met Surgeon Kellawaller and a party from the village and made a halt to enable the men to cook some food, for the first time for some 40 hours. Even then all opposition was not over, the firing in rear continued and parties had to clear the hillsides, while the battery coming into action by the stream, with a well-directed shell dispersed a considerable body of the enemy collected on a hill, at what they doubtless considered a safe distance.

"In accordance with orders from Colonel Mainwaring the column then pushed up the steep ascent to the village some 2,000 feet above, which we reached at about 8 P.M. in the dark and with the greatest difficulty."

Our losses were five killed and Lieutenant Forbes, Jemadar Amara Singh Negi, and 13 others wounded.

Most of the Klangklang villages were engaged in this attack, and the number present was probably not less than 500 men with some 300 guns; the actual losses of the Chins were never ascertained, but it is known that the Chief of Tunzan and several others were killed. For military reasons, and for the sake of the wounded, it was necessary to return to Haka before undertaking offensive operations, and as some of the Haka friendlies were in the hands of the enemy, the village of Klangklang was not burnt, but a fine of Rs. 5,000 was inflicted, payable at Haka within five days. The troops returned to Haka on the 5th, and the Klangklangs failing to pay the fine, arrangements were made for a punitive expedition.

Before these were completed, however, Yahwit, the principal Chief, came in to Lieutenant Macnabb at Haka and the following terms were imposed and accepted. Lalwe and Koizway, the Chiefs who instigated and led the attack, were to be given up and any village which harboured them was to be destroyed. The houses of these men were to be razed to the ground, and the arms and moveable property of all engaged in the attack were to be confiscated and made over to the Political Officer.

As an earnest of his good faith Yahwit handed up 17 guns, six mithun, a large elephant tusk, and a number of brass vessels and gongs. At this period our action was greatly confined and hampered by the Manipur rebellion, and it was the end of April before instructions were received that no reinforcements

Arrangements
for the punishment
of the Klangklangs.

Tender of sub-
mission.

could be sent, and that Klangklang should be dealt with by the troops and transport locally available.

On the 22d May therefore a column¹ of 300 rifles with two guns, but with a very limited supply of transport, left Haka and making a double march occupied Klangklang the same day. The houses of Lalwe and Koizway were found to have been destroyed, but great difficulty was found in collecting the fine in guns, and Tanzang, Hriankan, and other villages openly defied us. The four days' rations, which were all that could be carried, did not permit of extended operations, and it was found possible to visit only Klangrwa, which with Twaylam paid its fine in full. The column had then to return to Haka, taking with it the eldest son of Yahwit as a hostage. The rains having commenced, further measures against Klangklang were abandoned for the year, and active operations brought to a close.

Haka was garrisoned by the 39th Garhwal Rifles and commanded by Colonel Mainwaring, whilst Lieutenant Macnabb, with Mr. Tuck as his assistant, was in political charge of the Southern Hills.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EXPEDITIONS OF 1891-92, INCLUDING THE LUSHAI RELIEF MARCH.

AS the 2-4th Gurkhas quitted the Chin Hills for India on relief by the 39th Garhwal Rifles, Captain Rundall handed over political as well as military charge of the North Chin Hills to Captain Hugh Rose on the 31st March 1891.

In April Myoók Maung Tun Win took down the Kanhow Chiefs who had been captured at Tunzan, and also four Siyins,² to visit Rangoon and Mandalay. It was considered that the sight of our power and possessions would do much to convince the Chiefs of the futility of resisting us, and would also tend to overcome their mistrust of our sentiments towards them. Except that one Siyin³ died, the trip was a great success in every way, and the Chins returned well pleased with all that they had seen and the kind treatment which they had experienced throughout their travels.

On the 23rd June Captain Rose, having collected all the Soktes and Kanhows of importance, held a durbar at Fort White, when Howchinkup and all the elders of the clan took the oath of allegiance to the British Government and swore to abstain from raiding in Burma.

Howchinkup and all the Kanhow prisoners were then released, and they amply repaid the Government for this act of clemency a year and a-half later by staunchly standing aloof from the rebellion which was raised by their relations of the Nwengal tract in common with the Siyins.

¹ Two guns No. 2 Mountain Battery under Lieutenant O'Leary, R.A.
250 rifles, 39th Garhwal Rifles under Lieutenant Mocatta.

50 rifles, 4th Madras Pioneers under Lieutenant Rainey.

Colonel Mainwaring in command with Lieutenant Evatt as Staff Officer.

² The Kanhows were Howchinkup, Ninzatang, and two women, and the Siyins were Kumlin, Ya Wun, Howsun, and Kuplyin.

³ Kumlin.



Photo-archival

Survey of India Office, Calcutta, November 1904

15 BAMBOO VILLAGE, LUSHAI BORDER.

In April the Whenohs and Yahows combined and made a fierce attack on the little village of Sinnum. The Yos made a very fine defence of their village, but were eventually overpowered, 13 of their number being killed and 36 carried away captives. Of these latter 26 were returned by the Whenohs during the rains, the result of pressure brought to bear on them by the Tashons at the instance of the Political Officers. Of the remaining 10, one died in captivity and the other nine were surrendered at the approach of the Nwengal column during the ensuing open season.

The massacre of British officers in Manipur and the subsequent operations in that State did not affect the general behaviour of the Chins; the Nwitès of Sumkam's village and Losao¹ admit that they took part in the fight at the Residency, but they returned immediately afterwards to their homes, and then contented themselves with spreading the report that thousands of our people had been killed in Manipur.

Dok Taung, the Chief of the Soktes, surrendered and swore allegiance to Government on the 25th August. He was not immediately reinstated as Chief, but he quietly ousted Kan-chow, whom Captain Rundall had appointed Chief of Molbem² by virtue of his birthright, which is held so sacred by all Kuki tribes.

During the rains the Kanhows committed no offences. The Thados committed one offence in the plains in revenge for Captain Presgrave's trip to Balbil during the preceding cold weather. They fired on five Burman wood-cutters in the Kabaw valley, wounding three of them. The Siyins and Soktes cut the telegraph wire many times, and also stole on several occasions from our posts. The two most daring offences were the stealing of all the cooking-pots belonging to the detachment of the 4th Madras Pioneers at Fort White on the 12th June, and the destruction of a large number of mule saddles at No. 3 Stockade on the 3rd September, the Chins carrying off all the straps and a large quantity of the iron frameworks.

Soktes of Molbem were guilty of the only bloodshed committed during the rains. On the 26th April five men were returning from an unsuccessful shooting expedition and were tempted, while passing No. 4 Stockade, to fire off their guns at a Bunnia, who was sitting in a shed and who was killed by the volley.

Captain Rose received a few guns as compensation, and, at various times, succeeded in obtaining the release of 55 captives, which, with the submission of the Kanhows and the surrender of Dok Taung, formed the more important events through the rains.

Mr. Carey returned from leave and resumed political charge of the Northern Hills on the 5th November.

In December the Political Officers in the Chin Hills were invested with the powers of a District Magistrate and a Court of Session, and were appointed Justices of the Peace within the Chin Hills.³

¹ These villages are close to the plains of Manipur.

² Mobingyi.

³ *Burma Gazette*, 1891, Part II, page 2f.

The proposals for the work of the open season of 1891-92 were discussed in a Minute by the Chief Commissioner, dated 31st August 1891. They included the establishment of a temporary post at Shurkwa as a centre for operations in the south and of a permanent post at Falam to dominate the Tashons. Three columns were to be sent out, one called the Baungshe column to consist of 250 rifles with two guns and to operate in the vicinity of Shurkwa; a second to consist of 275 rifles and two guns, to inflict punishment on the Klangklangs; and a third, composed of 275 rifles with two guns, to co-operate with a force from Fort White in the country of the Tashons, Nwengals, and Yahows. In the north a column of 300 rifles with two guns was to be despatched against the Kanhows and a column of the same strength was to act with the column from Haka against the Yahows and Nwengals. The Chief Commissioner further directed that road-making should be pressed on and that the arrangements for the levy of tribute should be put on a sound footing. The rate prescribed was not to be less than 8 annas or more than 2 rupees a household annually. The Political Officers were instructed to make plain to the Chiefs that they would be held responsible for the payment of tribute and for the preservation of peace, and that so long as they obeyed orders their authority would be upheld. The issue to the Chiefs of formal sanads defining their powers was prescribed.

It had been realized that, until a post was built at Falam and the Tashons thoroughly brought into subordination to the Government, it was hopeless to expect the minor tribes to respect our authority. The construction of this post was politically the most important work of the season. The various tours arranged were intended to comprise a thorough exploration of the whole of the hills, as well as to bring the various clans under control.

At this time many villages had held entirely aloof and had not submitted, whilst the bad characters of the northern villages within our sphere of influence invariably retorted, to our threats of punishment, that they could at any moment escape from our reach by taking refuge on the borders of the Lushai tract and in the Tornglorng country, to which remote regions they fully believed that we could not penetrate.

Operations in the Northern Hills.

The first operation in the Northern Hills was to open up the Sokte tract throughout its length to Manipur, and to explore to its western border on the North Lushai Hills as well as to the Kabaw valley on the east.

The expedition to the Kanhow country.

The plan of operations was to construct an advance post, some 80 miles north of Fort White, which should be used as the base from which columns should march north to Manipur, west to the Tornglorng country, and east through the Thado tract to Burma.

The route selected to the advanced base was *viâ* Tiddim and Tunzan, which it was decided to connect with Tiddim¹ by a mule-track, while the old mule-track *viâ* Wallawun to Tiddim was abandoned, and a fresh one from Kennedy Peak *viâ* Dimlo was selected.

¹ From Fort White to Tiddim a road had already been made by Lieutenant Churchill.

The advance of the column was delayed owing to the Gurkha coolies not arriving at Fort White until 30th December, but the months of November and December were not lost, as 2,700 loads of rations were placed in Tiddim by Chin coolies; 36 slaves were recovered from the Siyins, who also paid their tribute, and, prior to the start of the column, the 4th Madras Pioneers, under Lieutenant Holmes, assisted by a gang of Burman coolies, made 40 miles of road and constructed two temporary bridges across the Manipur river on the route to be taken by the troops.

Captain G. B. Stevens, 4th Madras Pioneers, was in command of the troops,¹ and Mr. Carey, the Political Officer, was accompanied by Mr. Sherman, Assistant Political Officer, and Mycök Maung Tun Win.

The column arrived at Tunzan on the 11th January, where a temporary post had been built by the Pioneers and garrisoned by 50 rifles of the 1st Burma Rifles. This post was now stocked, by mule and coolie transport, with rations, which were forwarded on to Lenacot as fast as possible by Chin carriage.

As Sinnum and Mwelpi were found to have a scanty water-supply, Lenacot was chosen as the advance base, and here Lieutenant Holmes built a post, having completed the mule-road from Fort White, a distance of 75 miles.

The column found the Kanhows very shy, and it was some days before Mr. Sherman, who accompanied the road-making party in advance of the column, could induce Howchinkup to summon up courage to meet him.

The column reached Lenacot on the 20th January and the post was put in a state of defence, being encircled with an abattis and stockade. Kanhow headmen accompanied the Political Officer, and Chin scouts were always kept in advance of the column to notify the various tribes and cliques of our advent. This precaution was taken to prevent the hitherto unvisited tribes from mistaking our intentions towards them, as it was all important to reach the confines of the tract, which in case of resistance would be impossible.

On the 22nd January a column consisting of 10 officers, 135 rifles, and 2 March guns marched for the Tornglorng country, leaving a garrison of 50 rifles at Lenacot.

The exploring party marched to Kwanum and thence to Bwankwa² and thus became for the first time acquainted with the Thados and McCulloch

	Number.
¹ No. 8 Mountain Battery under Lieutenant Robinson, R.A.	... 2 guns.
King's Royal Rifles under Lieutenant Beaumont	... 50
1st Burma Rifles under Lieutenant Henegan and Lieutenant Carleton.	... 100
4th Madras Pioneers under Lieutenant Holmes	... 50
39th Garhwal Rifles	... 50
Transport under Lieutenant Festing, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, in charge—	
Gurkhas	... 477
Burman coolies	... 117
Mules	... 100

Intelligence Officer—Captain Vaughan, 7th Bengal Infantry.

Medical Officer—Surgeon-Captain Wright, I.M.S., and Surgeon-Captain Williams, I.M.S.

²Bwankwa, Taidam, and Chenglam claim to be "Sepoy villages," who were armed and directed by Colonel McCulloch some 40 years ago to watch the Sokte tribe and give warning to Manipur of the approach of raiding parties.

loch's "sepooy villages." Crossing the Manipur river below Bwankwa, Taidam was reached at the foot of the Howbi Peak,¹ and continuing west, through the Yo villages of Chenglam and Tarvum into the Nwitè or Fornglorn tract, and passing through Tunkwa and Tornvum, the party eventually reached Sumkamkwa, the head village of the tribe, a distance of 70 miles from Lenacot and 145 miles from Fort White, by the circuitous route which had to be taken.²

Here camp was pitched at 10 P.M. on the night of the 27th January, within 400 yards of the village, and next day the Political Officer visited the village and directed Sumkam to deliver up his Burman captives.

Of the 12 days' rations taken from Lenacot, seven had now been consumed; fortunately mithun and goats were abundant, as also was rice, and about 1,700 lbs. of rice and several mithun were bought from the people as the column advanced.

During the next two days parties of Chins flocked into the village from all sides, and it looked as if the Nwitès were going to arrest the Chiefs. The dispute our right to the Burman captives, only three of whom they surrendered. It was therefore decided on the 30th to arrest the Chiefs in default of securing the captives, and having quietly warned the camp to be on the alert, Mr. Carey and Captain Stevens, accompanied by the Myoök and six sepoys, walked into the village to Sumkam's house, where a large body of Chins were busily discoursing over their liquor pots.

The Political Officer explained to the Chief that time was up, and that he was required to hand up either the slaves, or his two brothers, and the Losao Chief as security. The Chief refused point blank. A previously arranged signal was then given to the camp, and the three men were seized, while Lieutenant Holmes and 12 men hastened to the Chief's house, and the three prisoners³ were dragged back to camp. Not a shot was fired, although the Chins were intensely excited.

At the time of the arrest, one Burman was surrendered, and later on two more were sent into camp. The next day the party started on its return march, carrying off the prisoners, who were first taken to Manipur and thence to Fort White, where they were kept in custody until all the slaves were surrendered.

The same route as that taken by the party in advancing was followed, and rations were found stored by Chins at certain villages *en route*, as

¹Howbi Peak is 6,800 feet high. It rises up almost out of the plain of Manipur and is consequently a well-known landmark to the Manipuris. From the south it is conspicuous on account of its triangular shape. Taidam lies on the foot of the south face of the hill. It was found necessary to clear a path with kukris for three-quarters of a mile before the summit was reached. On the highest tree, on the highest point, the date was deeply carved.

²In case it should ever be necessary to reach Sumkamkwa in the shortest possible time, a party should cross the Manipur river below Tiddim, and strike a path which connects the Mal tract with the Nwengal tract. There are no villages between the North Nwengal and the Nwitè villages, and water must be carried by the troops, who can, however, reach the Nwitè villages by the Nwengal path in one-half the time which it would take to go *via* Tunzan and Lenacot.

³Two of these prisoners were brothers of Sumkam and sons of Nokatung, the Nwitè Chief of Mwelpi, who was arrested by the Manipuris at Chibu, and who died in 1872 in the Manipur jail.

arranged. On arrival at Bwankwa, the party, instead of continuing to Lenacot, marched north and camped on the Kana stream, preparatory to marching to Manipur.

It had originally been arranged that a party from Manipur should meet the Kanhow column on the border, but this the Political Agent at Manipur was unable to manage. Mr. Carey therefore obtained leave from Burma to march to Manipur, considering it unwise to abandon any part of the programme which had been freely advertized to the tribes.

A start was made from the Kana stream on the 8th February and at night-fall the troops camped on the banks of the Manipur river, at the village of Shuganu, on the level plain of Manipur. The next day the party marched *via* Waikong and Kaksing and pitched camp at Lunkatel, and on the following day marched through Thobal to Manipur, reaching the town on the third day from the hills after a march of 55 miles.

The Political Agent in Manipur was absent on tour, and so Mr. Carey was unable to discuss border questions on the spot. This, however, was of no great consequence. The value of the march consisted in the fact that the Chins who accompanied the column realized that the white men in the Chin Hills, in Burma, and in Manipur were one and the same race with identical interests, and also that there was no spot in Chinland inaccessible to the troops.

From Manipur Mr. Carey hurried back to Fort White to join Captain Rose,¹ who was preparing to co-operate with the Haka column at Falam, leaving Captain Stevens and Mr. Sherman, Assistant Political Officer, in the north to complete the work of the Kanhow column. This they did by marching from Lenacot to Yazagyo, visiting the Thado² villages *en route*, and collecting from them all fines for past raids³ in addition to the tribute.

Captain Stevens would have prolonged his tours had he not received a letter from Mr. Carey asking him to push on to Tunzan and ensure the loyalty of Howchinkup, as the Tashons were tampering with his fidelity and urging him to rebel. Captain Stevens at once proceeded to Tunzan and found Howchinkup in a disturbed state of mind owing to the messages he had received from Falam, but Mr. Sherman soon reassured him. Had, however, fighting taken place at Falam, it is probable that the Kanhows would have been also involved, but for the presence of the Kanhow column at their capital.

Progress of events in the south.

In the south after the close of the active operations of 1890-91 much time was spent in cultivating cordial relations with the Haka Chiefs, and the peace of the hills near our posts was broken only by an attack by the Hakas on their tributary village of Kusa, in revenge for the murder of a Haka chieftling. This feud was satisfactorily stopped. Further afield, however, the people were still restless, and a present of powder and shot, the Chin method of making a declaration of war and defiance, was sent to us by the southern independent

¹In command of the Nwengal column.

²Haisi, Lopa, Balbil, Halkum, &c.

³Including the firing on the wood-cutters.

groups of villages, of which Rawywa is the chief, while the Yahow and northern Klangklang villages were still at open war. Several villages around Haka were visited and in July Lieutenant Macnabb, with a small escort under Captain Stevens, made a peaceful tour through the Yokwa tract.

Late in September permission was given for a party of Chiefs to be taken to Rangoon and after some difficulty, representative Chiefs of Haka, Thetta, Klangklang, Kapi, and Yokwa were persuaded to go.¹ It was hoped that the visit would show the Chins how small and insignificant their country was and give them an idea of the power and resources of the British.

To this end they were shown the garrison at Rangoon, and parades were held for their edification at Myingyan and Mandalay. These hopes were realized to some extent, for the Chiefs returned, astounded at the steamers, railways, and machinery, dazed by the speed and distances they had travelled, and bewildered and cowed at the size and population of the towns. They were, however, too uncivilized to understand all they had seen, and it is feared that their friends and relatives do not believe all that those who visited Rangoon tell them, but put them down as travellers' tales.

Preparations were pushed on to enable the columns to start as soon as possible after the cessation of the rains, but before these were complete, the weather cleared at Haka, and at the end of November Lieutenant Macnabb with a column of 100 rifles under Lieutenant Wardell, 39th Garhwal Rifles, visited Rumklao to adjust the Haka-Rumklao feud, which threatened to break out afresh. The column was received in a friendly way, but Siun Hlwe, one of the Chiefs, remained obstinate, and was reported to have sent out to call the Yahows to his assistance. To prevent possible complications with the Yahows thus early in the season was of much importance. A small party of scpoys was therefore quickly and secretly moved up to Shun Hlwe's house, where the Chief was arrested, and the troops with their prisoner left at once for Haka, where the quarrel was eventually settled. Shun Hlwe was detained as a hostage to prevent a hostile combination between Rumklao and the Yahows.

At the end of December a column of 100 rifles under Captain Evatt, 39th Garhwal Rifles, with Mr. Tuck, Assistant Political Officer, left Haka to punish Hanta for a raid² on the Haka village of Faron. This column, marching *via* Firthi and Rimpi, occupied Hanta, which was found deserted, but watched by parties of armed Chins. On the 29th, after a delay of half an hour to allow the Chiefs to surrender, the houses of the 13 men engaged in the raid were destroyed, and the column returned *via* Vauhna.³

Meanwhile the troops for the Baungshe column were being massed at Minywa, but delay in collecting rations had occurred, and it was not until the 25th December that a start could be made. Lieutenant Macnabb had joined the column, marching down with a small escort *via* Thetta, Kapi, and Shurkwa, and the

¹ Lieutenant Macnabb was in charge of the Chiefs on this occasion.

² The blood feud between Hanta and Faron was forbidden in 1890, but in September 1891 13 Hantas, disregarding the order, fired on a party of Faron villagers while at work in their fields, killing three persons.

³ Wunhala.

villagers of Tonwa, Pangvar, and Shurkwa had been induced to make a mule-track as far as the latter village, which was reached after a march of 50 miles, while the Civil Officers at Gangaw had collected a large number of Burman coolies to accompany the column.

On the 31st the column¹ under the command of Major Gunning, King's Royal Rifles, camped above Shurkwa, and a base post was formed. The village of Lotaw having tendered its submission, the column started *via* Aika for Lungno, the most southerly village² in the Haka jurisdiction. On arrival at Lotaw it was found that this was a better position for the post, and arrangements were accordingly made to bring on the small garrison and the sick from Shurkwa, while rations were sent on direct from Tonwa by Chin coolies. The Lungno Chiefs still held aloof, and with great trouble the guns were taken on. Lungno, which at the last moment decided not to fight, was occupied on the 9th January.

Here the column halted four days, receiving the submission of all the surrounding villages. On the 14th the guns were sent back to Lotaw, and a tour was made through the villages of Kailung, Rawywa, Satawn, Shirshi, and Shirklai. Lieutenant Macnabb with a small escort now returned to Haka *via* Longrang and Paipa, while the column, having halted two days longer at Lotaw to complete arrangements for a temporary post of 100 men, marched into Haka *via* Shurkwa, arriving on the 30th January 1892.

Mr. Tuck, Assistant Political Officer, who with 50 rifles had just returned from visiting the villages of Kusa, Sauntya, Bwenlon, Doongvar, Shurkwa, Kapi, and Thetta, was now placed in charge of political affairs at Lotaw, and several tours were made into parts of the country left unvisited by the column. Among other villages Pangvar, Lunta, Mawkwa, Lunkyin, Kwahrang, Naring, and Rawva were visited and the outstanding tribute realized.

Everything went well until the Lotaw post was withdrawn on the 20th March and the return march to Haka begun, when great difficulty was found in procuring coolies to carry in the large supply of surplus rations which had been left at Lotaw. At Shurkwa double the rates fixed were demanded, and on one pretext and another the column was detained there seven days. The Shurkwa Chief, Munkôn, had meanwhile been growing more and more insolent and finally declined to supply coolies, and it was found necessary to enforce compliance. The engagement which ensued is thus described by Mr. Tuck:—

"On the 29th March I marched into Shurkwa at 7-30 A.M. with an escort of 80 rifles, 2nd Burma Battalion, under Lieutenant Passingham. No opposition was offered to our

¹ 100 rifles, King's Royal Rifles, under Captain Markham.

100 rifles, 2nd Burma Battalion, under Lieutenant E. F. Rainey.

50 rifles, 4th Madras Pioneers, under Captain Holloway.

2 guns, No. 8 Mountain Battery, under Lieutenant Knapp, R.A.

20 carbines, 2nd Burma Battalion Mounted Infantry.

Staff Officer—Lieutenant R. M. Rainey, 2nd Burma Battalion.

Medical Officers—Surgeon-Captain Newland, I.M.S., and Surgeon-Captain Pilson, A.M.S.

Transport Officer—Captain Knowles.

Transport—400 Gurkha coolies, supplemented by Chin and Burman coolies.

² Eighty miles south of Haka, nearly 100 miles from the base at Minywa.

entering the village, but on arrival at Munkón's house I found that he had fled on our approach. I sent for him, but he refused to come. On his refusal, I had his house occupied by the troops. Shortly after, we were surrounded by a shouting and rapidly increasing mob of probably 150 Chins armed with sticks and spears. I did not take very much notice of this, but asked Lieutenant Passingham to get his men ready in case of emergency. The men were ordered to fix swords and were extended round the house, most of them outside the compound, forcing back the crowd. The Chins resisted a little and tried to hit some of the sepoys with sticks, but nothing serious occurred and the crowd quieted down. I again sent messengers to Munkón, but he refused to come and refused to supply coolies as ordered. When this message was brought the greater portion of the crowd, which had increased considerably, ran to the houses and got guns, taking up positions all round us, some under cover, and some on the open ground in front of the house.

"The women and children left the houses near us. This was a distinct defiance as the orders of the Political Officer, which were enforced during the operations in this part of the country, are that all Chins carrying guns are to be disarmed and, if they refuse or resist, are liable to be fired on. I at once told the mob that the men with guns must retire or I would have them fired on; they did not obey, but more Chins ran and got their guns. I then told them through my interpreter and a third time through Vitang, whom I sent to convince them, that I intended to be obeyed. This only resulted in my interpreter and Vitang being insulted. The position of the troops was rapidly becoming critical as the number of Chins with guns increased, and it became evident that the whole village, which I knew to contain some 400 fighting men, was concerned. I told them again that if they did not disperse the troops would fire. Instead of obeying, several of them pointed their guns at the sepoys. Directly they did this I asked Lieutenant Passingham to fire on the mob, and a general engagement ensued, the troops firing and being fired into simultaneously. The firing of the Chins, however, was hurried, and most of their bullets went harmlessly over us. They at once took cover, followed closely by the sepoys. The troops extended through the village, driving the Chins before them and firing the houses, which were being used as cover by the Chins as they went. In this way three-fourths of the village was destroyed. I am of opinion that this was a military necessity. Heavy firing continued throughout the village for one hour, by which time the Chins had been driven out and had fled to the jungles, where it was considered useless to follow them. Our loss was one man killed and one severely wounded. The Shurkwas left 15 killed in the village, and it is estimated that their total casualties numbered 50. That our loss was so small I attribute to the fact that the first volley from the Shurkwas was fired hurriedly. Had it been a well-directed volley we must have lost heavily, as from the nature of the ground we had no cover, but were in the open, some 20 yards from the Chins. Once driven from their first positions the Chins were never given time to make a determined stand, although houses and palisades were defended. The ground around the village is without jungle and, when the Shurkwas were finally driven from the cover of the houses, they lost heavily. They were evidently completely beaten and made no attempt to oppose our return to camp. No attempt was made to attack our camp during the night, and next morning I was able to get into communication with the Shurkwas, who seemed completely cowed. I told them that I would give them until midday to bury their dead, but that, if Munkón did not surrender himself unconditionally before that time, I would continue the action and harass them in every possible way and send out parties of troops into their fields and taungyas. At about 11 A.M. Munkón¹ surrendered and was placed in custody. I therefore gave permission to the Shurkwas to return to their village and promised that unarmed Chins should not be interfered with."

The action thus resulted in the total defeat of the Chins and the destruction of their village. The enemy's loss was afterwards ascertained to have been 35 killed and some 20 wounded. Ten guns were captured and 30 more burnt, and their Chief was a prisoner. After halting four days longer at Shurkwa all the surrounding villages sent in coolies and the party marched into Haka. This brought the operations in the south to a close; the whole country had been explored, 33 villages had tendered their submission and had paid tribute, a mule track from Minywa to Shurkwa had been con-

¹This Chief was deported to Pakókku for one year, when he was ransomed by his villagers by payment of 55 guns. He then returned to his village, which has been rebuilt.

structed, and 25 Burman captives had been released from slavery and restored to their relations.

The Klangklang column¹ was ordered originally to start early in January 1892, but as the Baungshe column was late, it was not found possible to start from Klangklang, which had been previously occupied and provisioned, until the 7th February. On that date the column under Major A. G. F. Browne, D.S.O., 39th Garhwal Rifles, with Lieutenant Macnabb, Political Officer, marched *via* Twaylam to Munlipi, occupying that village on the 8th. As no guns had been surrendered at Klangklang, the fines were now increased and operations undertaken to enforce payment.

Half-way between Munlipi (which village had been accidentally burnt) and Hriankan, on a spur above the crossing over the Laawvar stream, where we had been attacked the year before, a site for a post was chosen; thence the village of Hriankan was shelled and rushed on the 9th, the Chins losing one man killed. In the evening the first instalment of guns was paid.

On the 12th the column reached Tao, which surrendered its guns without demur, and next day the Lushai column with Captain Shakespear, Superintendent, South Lushai Hills, arrived and all the outstanding frontier affairs were discussed and a provisional boundary between the jurisdictions fixed.

Proceeding *via* Bwe, Vomkwa, Wantu, and Hriankan, Tunzan was occupied on the 22nd, and, as only half the fine in guns had been paid, 25 houses, including those of the Chiefs, were destroyed, this being a house for each gun not forthcoming. The same procedure was adopted at Hriankan, where 17 houses were destroyed. Lonler was now visited and a party of 50 rifles under Captain Markham, King's Royal Rifles, marched through Klangpi and Londin, while 60 rifles with Lieutenant Macnabb visited Dawn.

The column was now re-assembled at the Laawvar post and the guns with an escort were sent back to Haka *via* Klangklang, where an unsuccessful attempt to capture Lalwe was made. On the 28th Rawkwa was visited by 40 rifles under Lieutenant Swan, 4th Pioneers, and the same day the Political Officer returned *via* Shopum and Lonzert to Haka. On the 1st March Lieutenant Williams with 100 rifles, 2nd Burma Battalion, took over the Laawvar post, and Lieutenant Evatt with 50 Garhwal rifles marched through Salen, Klangrwa, and Kusa to Haka, the remainder of the column returning to Haka *via* Klangklang.

During March and April parties under Lieutenants Williams and Rainey of the 2nd Burma Battalion moved throughout the Klangklang tract, going as far south as Lunsol, exploring the country and receiving tribute, and at the end of April the Laawvar post was withdrawn. The whole of the Klangklang tribe had thus been brought under control and severe punish-

¹ 8th B. M. Battery, two guns, under Captain Birch, R.A.

100 rifles, King's Royal Rifles, under Captain Markham.

150 rifles, Garhwal Rifles, under Lieutenant Evatt.

25 rifles, 4th Madras Pioneers, under Lieutenant Swan.

20 carbines, 2nd Burma Battalion, Mounted Infantry.

Intelligence Officers—Lieutenants Ainslie, R. A., and Ballard, King's Royal Rifles.

Medical Officers—Surgeon-Captains Newland, I.M.S., and Pilson, A.M.S.

ment inflicted for Lalwe's attack on Lieutenant Mocatta's column; 142 guns had been withdrawn and a house destroyed for each gun remaining unpaid, including the houses of Lalwe and Koizway.¹ Some 30 villages had been visited and tribute in full realized. Lalwe, however, had evaded all efforts made to arrest him and was still at large.

Early in March preparations were made to despatch the troops detailed for work in the Tashon country. Throughout Chinland the Tashons were regarded as powerful rivals to ourselves, and it was therefore necessary to bring this tribe under our control, so that our authority in the country might be universal and paramount. The Tashons had, however, never shown any active hostility towards us, and instructions were therefore issued to the effect that, while promptly suppressing any resistance that might be met with, every effort was to be used to carry out the programme peaceably and to avoid recourse to military force.

As the Tashons and their tributaries were supposed to be able to muster 10,000 fighting men, two columns² were told off for this expedition. The column from Haka was originally to have started in February 1892, but being dependent on the other two columns³ it was not found possible to start until the 10th March. For some time before the column started the outlook was most warlike, and spies sent out to Falam had to return. The information received at this period by the Political Officer, Fort White, fully corroborated the warlike intentions of the Tashons, and there is no doubt that the Falam Chiefs intrigued with both the Hakas in the south and the Siyins and Soktes in the north to bring about a general rising, but failed to win over any of these tribes. Failing in this attempt, and swayed by the arguments of Lieutenant Macnabb's interpreters and spies, who eventually effected a meeting with the Falam Chiefs near Minkia⁴ and pointed out to them the folly of resisting such a large force as was being sent against them, the Tashons appear to have given up all thoughts of resistance, sending in a statement to that effect and promising that the troops would not be opposed. This was telegraphed to the Political Officer, Fort White, but he did not receive the message, and to the last expected resistance. In answer to their message the Falam Chiefs were informed that, if this were the case, they should arrange for none of their tribe to appear armed, as all Chins carrying guns would be liable to be fired on. In the meanwhile a month's rations had been sent out by Chin coolies to Hairon, and an advance post placed there to ensure their safety.

¹ Koizway shortly afterwards died.

² The column for Haka under Major Howlett, 2nd Burma Regiment, consisted of—Royal Artillery, Section No. 8, B. M. B., Lieutenant Knapp, and 65 men. King's Royal Rifles, three officers and 100 rifles under Major Gunning. 10 rifles, 4th Madras Pioneers.

130 rifles and 20 mounted infantry, 2nd Burma Battalion, under Captain Presgrave. 350 coolies and 200 mules, Darjeeling cooly corps, Lieutenant Watson, King's Royal Rifles, in charge.

Staff Officer—Lieutenant Evatt, 39th Garhwal Rifles.

Medical Officer—Surgeon-Captain Newland, I.M.S.

³ The Baungshu and Klangklang columns.

⁴ A large Tashon village on the Haka-Falam mule-track.

Marching from Haka on the 10th March the column was met on the 12th by a deputation of Falam Chiefs and arrived on the 13th at our old camp near Falam, where we were met by more Chiefs. Here an attempt was made to get into communication with the column from Fort White, but without success. The Falam Chiefs were now told for the first time that we intended to occupy their village. They strongly objected, having hoped that we would camp where we were as we had done the two previous years. However, we had not come out to bandy words with them, and so, keeping the principal Chiefs as a safeguard, the troops advanced with all military precautions, it being impossible to see the village until quite close to it. No resistance was offered and the village was peaceably occupied. The next day the Nwengal column marched into Falam, having camped the previous night 2 miles below the village. This column had marched along the range from Fort White, and the only incident of importance was that whilst halting for breakfast in the Lomban nullah a party¹ of armed Tashons were seen approaching. These were at once fired on; one man was shot, and the rest scattered at once.

Mr. Carey then joined Lieutenant Macnabb and the Falam Chiefs were summoned to talk over affairs. The old Chiefs Son Byik, Karr Lyen, and Hmun Hlor had fled on the approach of the troops, but Tanseo,² Tatpyi, and Yatkwe, with several other Chiefs, were present. As these were representative men, and as the others were bound to come back sooner or later, we did not care to flatter their vanity by taking too much notice of their absence. The business was therefore concluded without them, and after discussion the following terms were imposed.

The Chiefs were informed that their village had been occupied as a punishment for their breach of faith in attempting to organize a general rising against us; and that it was intended to establish a permanent post at Falam. The village of Tashon was to be occupied pending the building of the post, and as a matter of grace individuals would be compensated for the use of their houses and for any cultivated land taken up. The Tashons were forbidden in future to levy tribute from the Kanhows, Siyins, or Sagyilains. So long as the Chiefs were obedient and loyal their rights and privileges would be maintained and their authority assured both over the Tashons and over their tributaries. The Chiefs were warned that any tributary tribes who offered resistance when visited by our officers would be removed from their control and administered direct. The Government also reserved the right of taking over the direct administration of any tributaries who were unwilling to remain subject to the Tashon Chiefs or whom they were unable to control.

The following day a demonstration in force was made through Falam by the combined columns, which marched through the village. The few Chins who were present remained perfectly quiet.

¹ It was afterwards ascertained that these men were on a monkey shooting expedition and had no intention of firing on the troops, but they had been warned not to carry arms under penalty of being fired on.

² Tanseo was afterwards employed by the Falam Chiefs to conduct all negotiations with us; he was most straightforward and useful, and his death in September 1893 deprived us of the best disposed of the Tashon Chiefs.

As the Haka column had to wait for the arrival of 150 rifles of the 39th Garhwal Regiment to garrison Falam before leaving for the Yahow country, it was arranged that the Nwengal column should visit the villages of Shunklapi, Reshin, Klangmwe, and Kwungli, from some of which the Political Officer of the Northern Chin Hills had received impertinent messages, prior to his starting from Fort White, to the effect that the troops were not worth the expenditure of powder and ball, and that, if they marched into these outlying villages, they would be knocked over with sticks. The villages were found sulky and morose, but not openly offensive; several men were found carrying guns, which were confiscated. Kwungli was fined in guns and spears for a raid committed in the Haka jurisdiction some time previously; Yamwe was very heavily fined in live-stock for disconnecting the water-leads; and Reshin alone saved itself from penalties by behaving in a respectful manner. It was necessary to deal severely with these villages as they had been most arrogant and offensive. They have been particularly courteous and respectful ever since.

Lieutenant Macnabb met Mr. Carey again at the Nankathè at the close of this tour, and it was arranged that the Nwengal column starting from Molbem should work the Nwengal or Hrienngai tract and visit the Whenoh tribe, and that the Haka column should visit the Yahow, Lyenlyum, and Lushe¹ tribes. Leaving Falam on the 20th March the Haka column marched *via* Shunklapi, Klao, and Yatkumkwa to Zaungte village on the Kwehringklang, from whence the confluence of the Laawwar and the Taovar just below the village of Shilong could be seen, as also could the taungyas of Klangpi. Between this and the Taovar, which flowing away to the west forms the western boundary of the Chin Hills, separating them from the North Lushai jurisdiction of Assam, there are no more villages.

Sending the guns back to Yatklier from Zaungte, the column turned south and, marching *via* Klangwa and Rwebu, halted at the Laawwar. From this camp the sources of the Boinu, Tipi, or Koladyne were discovered and fixed. They were found to be about latitude 22° 50' north, longitude 93° 35' east.

Changing direction to the east, the column camped at Klangron village, and then, turning north, marched *via* Klangkan and Kwarwa to Yatklier, where it rejoined the guns and the party which had been detached at Zaungte. The whole force then returned *via* Shunklapi to Falam, which was reached on the 2nd April. It had not been intended to build a post at Falam itself, but to occupy the small village of Tashon, one mile to the west of the capital, which was now garrisoned by 400 Garhwal rifles under Major Browne, D.S.O., with a small detachment of Madras Sappers under Lieutenant Ainslie, R.E., Mr. Tuck being in political charge.

Early in April Tashon village was condemned on medical grounds, and it was determined to build a post on the spur commanding it on the west. The building of this post was a severe test of the sincerity of the newly submitted tribe. Thirty thousand coolies is a small estimate of the labour

¹ *Lushe*, which must not be confounded with Lushai, is the name by which the Tashons designate the group of villages under Runseo, Chief of Zaungte.

which was at this time demanded from the Tashons, and this, too, at the beginning of the rains. The many difficulties that this work entailed were overcome, the supply of labour was constant and plentiful, and material of all kinds needed was forthcoming, so that at the end of June the troops occupied the post.¹

The season's work in the south was now completed and Lieutenant Macnabb settled down at Haka for the rains, while Mr. Tuck was placed at Falam in charge of the Tashons and their tributaries. Haka was now held by the 2nd Burma Battalion and was commanded by Major Howlett, whilst Major Browne commanded at Falam, which was garrisoned by the 39th Garhwal Rifles. Falam was connected with Burma by a telegraph line to Haka; the mule-path connecting Falam and Fort White was completed, and the two sections were connected by a cradle bridge stretched across the Manipur river below Falam village. A road had been constructed from Haka to Kunchang by the 4th Madras Pioneers under Colonel Porteous, and a post on this line of communication was built at Hanta and garrisoned by a detachment of the 39th Garhwal Rifles, which in turn was connected with Falam by a mule-track with a flying bridge over the Nankathè river. Haka was rationed *via* Kan from Pakòkku, whilst Falam was rationed from Haka and from Hanta by Chin coolies and by boats which ascended the Manipur river to Tweyat, a spot 18 miles from our post by road.

Progress of the Nwengal column.

We must now return to the adventures of the Nwengal column, which we left at the Manipur river after having seen the collapse of the Tashons, and after having visited and punished Kwungli.

After parting from Lieutenant Macnabb at the Manipur river, the Nwengal column divided into two parties, the guns and mules being sent to Molbem *via* Pate, Bamboo camp, and Sagyilain, whilst Captain Rose and Mr. Carey marched through the Norn tract, visiting Balaw, Bwekwa, Nomwell, Tunmwell, Yawlu, &c., rejoining the guns and the remainder of the column at Molbem.

The good progress made by the Kanhow column showed that it could, if necessary, assist the Nwengal column by visiting the northern Nwengal tract and thus set the Nwengal column at liberty to push its explorations further into the interior than was originally intended. When therefore Mr. Carey received news of severe fighting in the North Lushai Hills, he telegraphed proposals to assist the Lushai officers by advancing into Lushai from the east. His plan was to destroy the border Lushai villages, and thus draw off the eastern Lushais, who, in combination with their western neighbours, were attacking Mr. McCabe, the Political Officer of the North Lushai Hills. Sanction was duly given to the proposed manœuvre, but not to the destroying of villages unless attacked.

The details of the plan of campaign were now arranged to include the visiting of the southern Nwengal villages, and the exploration of the northern Whenoh and Yahow tract as far as the western border. It was then proposed to cross over into the Lushai

¹ Major Browne, D.S.O., 39th Garhwal Rifles, commanded at Falam until the beginning of 1893.

country and punish the notorious Chief, Nikwe, the ravages of whose people extended far into Chinland as well as amongst the Lushais. They had recently killed five Klangklang Chins and had carried off their heads in a raiding expedition into the Haka jurisdiction. It was hoped by penetrating to Nikwe's village, 20 miles across the frontier, that we should draw off the border Lushais from Mr. McCabe.

From Molhem Captain Rose sent out a party and established an advance post at Botung, which was to be the base of the explorations in the Whenoh country and the manœuvre against the Lushais.

On the 27th March the column marched from Molhem to Botung and thence *via* Taungthwe, Seyat, and Punte to the Tyao river; thence the column pushed north-west through Tatum¹ and Kwanglyin² to the Tuipi river and, continuing through the now deserted country around Champai,³ the objective of the Lushai expedition in 1871, eventually reached Nikwe's village after a march of 84 miles⁴ from Fort White on the 3rd April. The column camped close to the village and Nikwe was summoned before the Political Officer to account for the conduct of his village.

He was a stout, square-built man, a Yahow Chin by birth, who had migrated into Lushai and surrounded himself with Chins and Lushais of every tribe and clan. He was very honest in explaining his position, and said that as every man's hand was against him, his hand was against every man, and he pleaded guilty to the charge of his people having killed five villagers of Dawn in the Haka jurisdiction some 15 days previously. But he contended that this was in continuation of a feud of long standing. He admitted that his men had on this occasion made a successful raid, but fortune often favoured his enemies, who had killed and carried off no less than 65 of his people during the previous seven years.

The Political Officer, though fully realizing that Nikwe had been as much sinned against as sinning in the past, had not come all this distance merely to warn, and therefore Nikwe was told that, having committed a raid in country now under our protection, his people must give satisfaction. The terms imposed were the surrender of the two raiders and the destruction of their houses, the payment of a fine of 25 guns, 25 das, and 25 spears, and one mithun, and the delivery of the heads of the five murdered Chins. In default of compliance, Nikwe was informed that the troops would enforce the penalty next morning.

During the day 13 guns and the full fine of spears and das were sent in, and at 6-30 the next morning eight more guns were surrendered; but as the murderers were not produced, the guns were brought into action and the troops

¹ Also known as Tattankwa.

² Also known as Wailekwa.

³ Called "Tumpai" by the Chins. The column now passed over the site of Vonolel's village, which was the objective of General Bourchier's column in 1871 and which was duly reached and destroyed, the tomb of Vonolel alone escaping the flames.

⁴ The column had taken a tortuous route, marching from village to village. In case of assistance being again required around Arban Peak, the column should march from Tid-dim through Kaptyal to Punte, and should not go south to Botung and Seyat.

advanced on the village and held the gates. Mr. Carey and Captain Rose with a party then entered the village and arrested every man who had not escaped during the night.

The villagers were then collected, and it was explained to them that, unless the murderers were caught, half a dozen of their headmen would be taken back to Fort White. This staggered them as they did not know who would be chosen as hostages, and none were willing to be carried off into Chinland. After a little hesitation, a man stood up and said that he would point out the house in which the murderers were hidden, and there cleverly hidden in the roof the two men¹ were found, dragged out, and bound.

Besides the prisoners, 22 guns were secured and many spears and das; while 60 goats and 300 fowls were caught and carried off. Nikwe's house was demolished and the five Chins' heads were produced, stuck on poles; these were burnt before the troops left the village.

Being short of provisions, it was necessary to commence the return march at once. On the 5th April, when the column was four days' march from Botung and had but three days' rations left, Mr. Carey received a mail bag from Fort White, in which was a telegram from Rangoon, informing him that Captain Shakespear was in a critical position at Vansanga, and that the Bengal Government urged that the Burma column should push to his assistance with all speed.

March to the Lushai country.

The events which led up to Captain Shakespear's predicament originated in the North Lushai Hills in February 1892, when Lalbura refused to supply transport to Mr. McCabe, the Political Officer, and followed up the refusal by attacking the small force which, with the Political Officer, was halting in the village. Mr. McCabe drove the Lushais from their village and, stockading himself, set to work to quell the outbreak, which, however, soon assumed serious proportions, for not only did the eastern Lushais rebel, but also the large villages south of Aijal, which had only just been handed over by Bengal to Assam.

Captain Shakespear advanced north to ensure the neutrality of the group of villages of which Vansanga, Daokoma, and Kairuma are the chief, and thus aid the troops in the North Lushai Hills. He, however, was attacked and, although he succeeded in repulsing the enemy and in capturing Vansanga's village, he was so beset that he was unable to advance north with the small force at his disposal, and, had he retired, the Lushais would have followed him up and invested Fort Lungleh and the garrison would have been in a state of siege. It was now that the Government of Bengal informed Burma of the serious state of affairs which existed and applied for assistance, and it is not necessary to enlarge on the feelings of the officers of the Nwengal column when they only received this information after they had made half their return march from Lushailand, and when the transport was worn out and rations all but exhausted, and the food-supply taken from Nikwe's village partially consumed.

¹ San Le escaped from his guard on the return march. Wun Ki is in Myingyan jail undergoing five years' deportation.

Mr. Carey, in a report which he wrote at Chittagong on the 25th May, thus describes how the news reached him too late to go March of the Nwengal column at once to Captain Shakespear's aid, the arrangements to Captain Shakespear's aid. which were made to relieve, and the subsequent relief of Captain Shakespear.

"I was returning to Fort White well pleased with the successful march, when a letter-carrier came into camp. The news we received was a great blow to us. The Chief Secretary informed me by telegram that Captain Shakespear and his force were in a very critical position, and that Bengal urged that the Burma relieving column should push to their assistance with all speed.

"To right about turn and relieve Captain Shakespear was for the moment perfectly impossible. We were still four days' march from our outpost, Botung, and had three days' rations only. Eighteen miles behind us was Nikwe's village, which I had already fined all the live-stock in the village, and to have marched to relieve the Lushai force with three days' rations was out of the question.

"Besides these difficulties we had several sick men, and the ordnance and transport animals were dead-beat.

"There was but one thing to be done—to push to Fort White, obtain rations and fresh transport, and return to Lushai.

"After fourteen hours' continuous march the column reached Botung, and the next day Captain Rose and I proceeded to Mobingyi and arrived the next afternoon (10th April) at Fort White and had the good fortune to find there the General Officer Commanding Burma.¹ The column remained at Botung.

"The General Officer Commanding had already directed that rations be pushed out to Botung, and all along the road from Botung I had ordered the Chins to come in at once to Fort White; and so well did the people reply to the summons that 30 days' rations for the entire force were transported from Fort White in two days and a-half.

"In the meanwhile Captain Rose and I had the advantage of representing our plans to the General Officer Commanding in person and receiving his orders.

"The transport question was the first difficulty to face.

"It was true we had Darjeeling coolies and mules; the cooly corps stating that the six months' contract with Government having almost expired, vowed that nothing could induce them to return to Lushai, and indeed this proved to be the case. Offers of Rs. 2 per diem were treated with contempt and threats of coercion with counter-threats of resistance, and finally the corps had to be sent back to Fort White.

"Of the 130 mules some 90 only were pronounced fit enough to attempt the march. General Stewart authorized that one gun should be taken on the expedition, and ordered up 12 fresh mules to replace the crippled ordnance mules and promised to supply whatever mule transport was necessary from the line of communication. In return I guaranteed that Mr. Sherman, Assistant Political Officer, would obtain a sufficiency of Chins and Burmans and continue the rationing of the hill posts.

"It was decided that the Kanhow column should be recalled from the Nwengal country, that a garrison for Botung should be furnished, and that we should secure the services of the Kanhow column Burman coolies.

"Immediately on arrival at Fort White I had wired to the Subdivisional Officer, Kale, urging him to do his utmost to obtain 300 Burman coolies for me at once and I telegraphed to my Myook Maung Tun Win, whose services I had lent to Mr. Macnabb, who was short-handed and in difficulties, to return to Fort White by forced marches raising a Burman cooly corps *en route*.

"Captain Rose had determined to leave a garrison at Kwanglyin, 30 miles from Botung, during our absence in Lushai to secure the line.

"Daokoma, the stronghold which we were directed to attack, and where we were to join hands with Captain Shakespear, was, we calculated, 120 miles from Fort White and 58 miles from Kwanglyin, and we estimated that we should have to take 30 days' rations with us to see us there and back.

"Later on we found that this was impossible, and that we could only manage 20 days' rations from Kwanglyin.

Transport for 20 days' rations and the kits of the entire force was what I had to provide if possible.

"Regarding the kits it was deemed unwise to reduce the kits below the following scale on account of the inclement weather:—Officers 40 lbs., soldiers and sepoy 20 lbs., public followers 15 lbs.

¹ General Stewart.

"Mules we did not wish to take except as a last resource.

"Burmans came up slowly from Kale and 50 per cent. deserted before they reached Botung.

"The Chins were profuse in their promises to accompany me as permanent coolies, but it was impossible to place much reliance on their word.

"However, I surrounded myself with all the Chiefs in the Siyin and Nwengal country, and telling them the fix I was in, called on them to see me through my difficulty and show that they were grateful for all I had done for their interests.

"Finally, Captain Rose had to ask for 260 mules, and they were promised; this number was absolutely necessary.

"Whilst awaiting the arrival of the Burmans and mules, Captain Rose determined to send Captain Stuart and an advanced party to garrison Kwanglyin to guard the 20 days' rations; this party was to have marched on the 16th April, but out of the 500 Chin coolies I had demanded only 79 put in an appearance, and the party was unable to proceed.

"Disobedience meant that the expedition would fail, and I determined to nip this sort of thing in the bud, and although, as I had repeatedly warned the Chins, I was anxious to procure voluntary labour, and to that end offered a large wage, I was nevertheless prepared to treat disobedience as a mark of hostility to Government, and should not hesitate to use force of arms.

"As soon, therefore, as it became evident that the Chins were not going to put in an appearance, I started for Simón, the largest of the Nwengal villages, and after arresting the Chief I caused 18 houses out of a total of 100 to be burned. I fined the remaining houses one gun for every two houses and a dozen goats.

"I was aware that I was playing a bold game, and that if it failed I was in a fix, but the chances that the steps would be successful proved well founded.

"The next day over 500 coolies came in and the party marched, and indeed not only did coolies continue to flow in, but permanent coolies were immediately enlisted.

"The 20 days' rations were all despatched to the Kwanglyin outpost in the next two days, and on the 17th the garrison for Botung arrived.

"On the 18th 76 Burman coolies from the Kanhow column arrived, and on the 20th Captain Rippon with the mules and Myoók Maung Tun Win with Burman coolies arrived, and the column was able to march the next morning, 21st April.

"The Commander-in-Chief having suggested, and Captain Shakespear advised, that the column should march through Lungleh to Chittagong and thence to Burma by steamer, the General Officer Commanding left the matter with Captain Rose and myself.

"This plan was undoubtedly the best and was adopted; it changed plans slightly as the Kwanglyin garrison was no longer needed.

"My great fear was that the Chins would never consent to the sea trip, and I decided to keep the matter from them for the time being.

The column consisted of—

Officers ¹	...	...	...	...	12
4th King's Royal Rifles	...	...	...	...	100
39th Garhwal Rifles	...	...	...	...	150
4th Madras Pioneers	...	...	...	...	44
Mountain gun	...	...	...	...	1

¹ Captain Rose, 2-3rd Gurkhas, Commanding.

Lieutenant M. H. MacTier, Staff Officer, 39th Garhwal Rifles.

Intelligence Officer—Major Forrester Walker, 4th King's Royal Rifles.

Transport Officer.—Captain Rippon, 29th Madras Native Infantry.

Senior Medical Officer—Surgeon-Captain Dobson, A.M.S.

In medical charge Native troops, Surgeon-Captain Doyle, D.S.O., I.M.S.

Detachment King's Royal Rifles, 100 rank and file, Captain Stuart Commanding, with Lieutenant Eustace and Lieutenant Longe.

One gun, left section B. M. B., 42 gunners and drivers, Lieutenant Knapp, R.A., Commanding.

Detachment 39th Garhwal Rifles, 3 Native Officers, 147 rank and file, Lieutenant Brownlow Commanding.

Detachment 4th Madras Pioneers, one Native Officer and 43 rank and file, Jemadar Abdulla Khan Commanding.

Political Officer—Mr. B. S. Carey.

Assistant Political Officer, Maung Tun Win, Myoók.

The transport was comprised as follows :—

Burmans	...	...	...	...	178
Chins	...	...	...	...	181 permanent,
	<i>plus a gang of temporary coolies as far as Kwanglyin.</i>				
Mules	...	...	...	...	390

"The first three days' march to the advanced post were uneventful and the weather showery; here the garrison joined the column and the 20 days' rations were picked up; but had not 200 additional coolies been procured from the neighbouring villages we should have been in serious difficulties. The heat was very great, and the Burmans who had just come up from the plains carried badly, and some rice and gram had to be abandoned.

"That night we camped at the Tuipui river and the next day reached Nikwe's village.

"With the assistance of the Chin Chiefs I was able to arrest Nikwe¹ himself.

"Nikwe's village consisted of 400 houses, and the inhabitants were drawn from no less than six distinct tribes and clans. Lushais, Yahows, Welnoes, Thadoes, Kwangluis, Pois, and Mallianpui composed this community, and it is not surprising that the village was the terror of Chins and Lushais, both Northern and Southern. The village had enjoyed immunity from punishment owing to its isolated position.

"The Lushai officers required that this village should submit to total disarmament and in default should be burned.

"The Lushais refused to surrender their guns, and consequently the village was burned to the ground.

"I made a most lucky arrest here. Three men introduced themselves to me as the Chiefs of Linkam, a village lying north of Nikwe's; they assured me of their friendliness and asked me to protect their interests and offered to conduct the column round the country. On consulting my notes I found that this village was named by Mr. McCabe as having rebelled, and the cunning attempt of the headmen to play me off against Mr. McCabe resulted in the three Chiefs being placed under arrest, and later on I had the satisfaction of learning from Captain Shakespear and again from Mr. McCabe that these persons were very valuable captures. On the night of the 25th 100 temporary and some 30 permanent coolies deserted, which necessitated the abandoning of the rum and some gram. For the first five marches I remained with the Chin coolies, and I was ably assisted by Maung Tun Win in keeping the Chins in good humour and preventing them from deserting *en masse*.

"On leaving Nikwe's we struck out into the unknown and the unexplored.

"As far as Nikwe's (47 miles) we had known the road.

"From Lalbuta to Daokoma I had a road report of Captain Shakespear's, but from Nikwe's to Lalbuta (four marches) we had but native information supplied by Captain Shakespear and also three Chin guides, who had been as far as Lalbuta years ago, but by a different route.

"The prisoners professed complete ignorance of the roads south of Nikwe's. Captain Rose and I now felt great anxiety about ignorance of the road and the water-supplies, and I was much exercised in mind regarding the large desertion of Chins, as another desertion on the same scale would have been almost disastrous.

"Our first march from Nikwe's increased our anxiety. The road was much out of repair and we only covered five miles; we camped in the open, on the Pishim stream, and immediately a heavy thunder-storm broke and rain continued to fall most of the night. Cooking was out of the question, and the men lay down in their soaked clothes. The next morning we started in fine weather and reached the deserted village of Kohai, but the water-supply which we were relying on proved altogether inadequate for our wants, so we pushed on hard, and although we marched a long 16 miles that day, we failed to find water, and at night we lay down on the roadside, and the native troops were again

¹ Nikwe was eventually handed over to Captain Shakespear together with the mantries of Lenkam: They were all sent to Calcutta, where Nikwe killed one of them with a billet of wood. Nikwe was tried for murder, was pronounced mad, and was confined in a lunatic asylum.

cheated out of their food this time by the want of water. The guides now confessed their complete ignorance of when we should come to water. The next morning we started early and presently came to a deserted village, where after diligent search a small trickle of water was discovered and every one managed to get a taste, and the natives cooked their first meal for two days. We then continued our march, leaving Kairuma's mother's village on our right, and presently reached old Kairuma and a mile and a half further on a large stream, and here the mules got their first drink for over 40 hours.

"Heavy rain fell at night, and the next morning it was still pouring when we started for Lalbuta; we were enveloped in clouds and could not see our objective, which was quite close, and the guides became hopelessly confused. We scrambled along for 4 miles and halted at some paddy bins, which we afterwards ascertained belonged to Kairuma. It took the battery six hours to accomplish the first half mile from camp and the whole day to reach the bins, a distance of 4 miles as I have already written.

"Captain Rose reconnoitred in strength to within a short distance of Lalbuta and then retired to the bins, of which there were 45; into these as many men as possible huddled and the remainder had to sleep in the open.

"The rear-guard and the majority of the transport failing to reach camp remained in the open on the hillside, and officers and men sat round camp fires till morning.

"The rain which had continued to pour all night showed no signs of abating, and the rear-guard reached camp at 9 A.M., or 23 hours after the advance guard.

"Forty-two mules had died or were destroyed on this 4-mile march, and many more were completely exhausted.

"I now decided to risk sending on Chins to Kairuma and Lalbuta, calling for coolies and guides and threatening destruction unless they were forthcoming.

"I secured guides from Kairuma and a small gang of coolies from Lalbuta.

"The column marched for Lalbuta as soon as the rear-guard of the previous day had reached camp.

"Rain continued and, although only 4 miles were managed, the rear-guard only reached Lalbuta at nightfall.

"We occupied the village. We sent letters from here to Captain Shakespear informing him that we were only advancing 4 miles a day on account of the rain, and it might take us four more days to reach Daokoma.

"Fortunately the weather cleared, and the next day we not only reached Ko Li Lung, but pushed on to Raltienga, a distance of 13 miles.

"The Lalbuta coolies bolted, and I was sorry that we had spared their property. At Raltienga we commenced living on the country.

"I caught guides at this village.

"Our rockets were answered at night and we knew that all was well.

"Daokoma was now in full view, and at night great activity was noticed, the whole village and environs being lit up by moving torches.

"On the morning of the 2nd we started for Daokoma, and as the path led down a rocky nullah, a path through the dense bamboo jungle had to be cut to the Tuichaung river; the ford was impassable, but a crossing was effected upstream.

"Not a single shot was fired, although the steep banks and heavy jungle offered a splendid position to the enemy, and it was apparent that the Lushais had lost heart and decamped; such proved to be the case, and we toiled up the cliff in a blazing sun and passing through jhooms burnt 'khet' houses and settlements all in peace.

"We passed through newly built stockades and finally climbed the cliff on which the village was situated and occupied the place. Cattle and pigs were the only occupants of the village, and the column was cheated out of its fight.

"Heliographic communication was at once opened with Captain Shakespear, who was at Vansanga, 16 miles off.

"The next day Captain Shakespear and his little force joined us, and our first object was accomplished.

"I will not touch on the cause of the Lushai rebellion, but will merely mention the state of affairs immediately previous to our arrival at the scenes.

"Captain Shakespear had merely intended to make a demonstration north, but the Lushais disputed his advance with vigour. Captain Shakespear, although defeating the enemy, realized that his force was insufficient to hold his posts and long line of communication, so he boldly pushed to Vansanga, and the enemy busied themselves in making fruitless attacks on his stockade and blocking his advance with stockades, and so vigorously did they work that the road to Daokoma from Vansanga was commanded for 16 miles by stockades and cunningly constructed places of ambush, and I doubt much

if Captain Shakespear would have reached Daokoma unaided. Affairs forced Captain Shakespear to return temporarily to Lungleh, and the news was at once spread that he had retired, and immediately the Lushais swarmed round the posts and the lines of communication, cutting the line, firing on all parties and cutting up stragglers or the unwary who strayed even a few yards outside the posts.

"Suddenly came the news that a huge column was advancing on Daokoma from the east and the Lushais lost heart, drew off from the communications, ceased firing into the posts, deserted their villages, and occupied themselves in trying to hide their grain and property in the nullahs.

"Captain Shakespear has since been informed by Lushais that it was the astonishment of a column coming from the east which dumb-founded them, as they had no idea that troops could or would invade them from that direction.

"Although we arrived at Daokoma on the 2nd May, the rear-guard was unable to reach the village till the next day at noon.

"We covered 103 miles from Botung to Daokoma in 12 days: the distance from Fort White to Daokoma is 135 miles, and this distance the majority of the mules accomplished in 14 days.

"It was not the distance covered that had tried man and beast; it was the weather and the roads; the alternate blazing heat and heavy rain told severely on the men, whilst the soaked loads and the slippery paths accounted for the death of 84 mules.

"I have prepared a small statement of daily marches and the time occupied, which plainly sets forth the arduousness of the march—

Date.	Hour of march.	Hour at which rear-guard reached camp.	Distance of march in miles.	Remarks.
21st April ...	5-30 A.M. ...	5 P.M. ...	10	
22nd April...	5-45 A.M. ...	5 P.M. ...	11	
23rd April...	5-45 A.M. ...	4 P.M. ...	9	
24th April...	5-40 A.M. ...	5-45 P.M. ...	11	
25th April...	5-30 A.M. ...	3-30 P.M. ...	6	
26th April...	5-45 A.M. ...	5-30 P.M. ...	5	Rain.
27th April...	5-45 A.M. ...	10 P.M. ...	16	No water.
28th April...	4-45 A.M. ...	3 P.M. ...	6	No water till camp.
29th April ..	6-0 A.M. ...	Did not reach camp	5	Arrived 9 A.M. next day.
30th April...	9-30 A.M. ...	6-30 P.M. ...	4	Rain.
1st May ...	6-15 A.M. ...	6-30 P.M. ...	13	Arrived noon on the next day.
2nd May ...	5-45 A.M. ...	Did not reach camp	9	

"Captain Rose, Captain Shakespear, and I then discussed the situation, and it was found that the Burma column had sufficient rations to allow of its operating five days against the Lushais after allowing four days for the march from Vansanga to Lungleh.

"It was decided to punish a few villages, but to punish them thoroughly, and a campaign against the leading villages was arranged.

"Daokoma was the leading village in the rebellion, and every nullah was searched and tons of grain burnt, whilst herds of cattle were shot and finally the village burned.

"From Daokoma a convoy consisting of sick men and animals and all the spare mules was sent direct to Vansanga.

"The Burma column marched to Rochungnunga, shelled the village of Lalkanlova *en route*, and also destroyed granaries.

"The Frontier Police marched to Rochungnunga by a different route, and on arriving at the village were fired on by a few Lushais and a few shots were exchanged.

"Lalrhema and Lalkanlova were the next two villages to punish, so leaving a party at Rochungnunga Captain Rose sent one party to Lalkanlova and accompanied another to Lalrhema. Both these parties marched simultaneously at midnight, and the intention was to surprise the villages.

"The Lalrhema party slipped through the stockades and reaching the village, skirmished through it just before daylight, but the place was deserted except for a small guard with whom shots were exchanged for some minutes: the party then occupied the village.

"The Lalkanlova party rushed the village as daylight was appearing, killed one man, wounded another, and captured a third, seized four guns, and, after burning the village to the ground, returned to Rochungnunga.

"The Rochungnunga party destroyed the village granaries. The next day the Lalkanlova party, together with the Rochungnunga party, rejoined the remainder of the column at Lalrhema after burning Rochungnunga.

"A party was left in ambush at the latter place, and immediately after the rear-guard had marched off a party of Lushais walked into the still burning village and was greeted with a volley which dropped three of them.

"The day was spent in destroying the Lalrhema granaries and shooting cattle.

"The following day the Frontier Police and Captain Shakespear marched to Tlangbu and destroyed the place and its food-supplies, whilst the Burma column marched to a Lushai settlement *en route* for Vansanga.

"The settlement having been burned, the troops the next day marched into Vansanga and were rejoined by Captain Shakespear and his men.

"A party of the Frontier Police was left behind to burn Lalrhema and follow on to Lungleh.

"The column had now reached Vansanga, and active operations were over.

"The column marched from Vansanga to Lungleh (42 miles) in four days and halted one day here. During the night the Chins absconded and struck out across the hills for Haka, intending to return home that way. The Chins, it appears, were under the impression that they could reach Haka in three days, and as they got near Chittagong their hearts began to fail them at thoughts of a sea trip, which unfortunately had been explained to them by interpreters.

"The Chins have reached home all right,¹ but I am disappointed in not taking them through Burma.

"The Chins kept their promise to me, and no more. They promised to accompany me to Lungleh.

"From Lungleh we marched 41 miles to Demagiri, and this ended our marching; we had covered 244 miles.

"At Demagiri the column embarked in country boats, and proceeding down the Kar-nafooly river for 60 miles reached Rangamutti on the 20th April, exactly one month from the day we left Botung.

"The result of our march from Fort White to Demagiri may be summed up as follows:—

"The rebels had been scattered and a few had been killed and wounded; the six villages of Nikwe, Daokoma, Rochungnunga, Lalrhema, Lalkanlova, and Tlangbuta had been utterly destroyed, together with their herds and food-supplies; four Chiefs had fallen into our hands, whilst some had surrendered to Captain Shakespear; the prestige of the British Government had been upheld, and Captain Shakespear was enabled to retire from Vansanga, having fully asserted his authority, and although it is possible that the Lushais may annoy his line of communication during the rains, I do not doubt but that the back of the rebellion is broken and that quiet will soon be restored.

"The arrival of the Burma column must have impressed the Lushais, and they will have duly noted—

- (i) that the British rule on the east, as well as amongst them, and the troops are not only willing, but able to strike from the east;
- (ii) that the white men are more numerous than they had expected before they saw the detachment of the King's Royal Rifles;
- (iii) that the dreaded Chins would fight for Government, and perhaps this fact has impressed them more than anything else connected with our march.

"I would mention that our march through Lushai will have impressed the Chins as much as the Lushais, and Chins this year have accompanied columns to Manipur, Falam, Burma, and Lungleh, and that their little tract of 3,000 square miles is surrounded by British troops is a fact of which they have now had ocular proof.

¹ The Siyins crossed the swollen Koladyne river near Fort Tregear and were well received by the Klangklangs when they heard that they had assisted to destroy their enemy Nikwe's village. From the Klangklang country they marched north through the Tashon country and thus to their own homes.

"In conclusion I report that I have fully carried out the instructions I received from Government regarding the relief of Captain Shakespear, and as the representative of the Burma Government with the Nwengal-Lushai column I beg to bring to the notice of Government the splendid behaviour and indomitable determination displayed by all ranks under Captain Rose's command in the face of great privations and difficulties such as I had not experienced in my three previous frontier expeditions.

"The marching capability and the determination of the King's Royal Rifles, the cheerfulness and zeal with which the 39th Garhwal Rifles cleared the bamboo jungle, and the steady road-making of the 4th Madras Pioneers, ensured the success of the expedition even when roads and weather were at their worst.

"For two successive days the Native troops were unable to cook; road-making and bamboo clearing was continually necessary; twice did the rear-guard bivouac on the hillside, failing to reach camp, and for days the troops worked in wet clothes; on one day no water was found for the majority of the column, and such was the high sense of duty which prevailed that the men, although worn out, kept off the sick list until after Daokoma had been occupied. I trust that compensation in clothes and boots will be granted to the troops who reached Rangamutti in rags and tatters. I regret to state that ten soldiers and followers have died since the expedition left Botung, and that the sick list at Chittagong on 27th May showed a total of over 60 sick."

"Of Captain Hugh Rose I shall have much to write in my final report on the season's work, as his services as Political Officer before my return to the Chin Hills are well worthy of notice, but as regards this march it was Captain Rose who commanded the Nwengal-Lushai column, and it was his example and determination which inspired all ranks to give a creditable account of themselves.

"I am deeply indebted to Captain Rose for his patience and tact in all matters connected with the undisciplined and turbulent Chin and Burman cooly corps, and I attribute the success of taking a Chin corps from Fort White to Lungleh to the consideration shown to them by the troops.

"To Surgeon-Captains Dobson and Doyle I am much indebted for the unceasing care with which they attended Chin and Burman sick, and to this fact I attribute the small mortality amongst the Burmans, many of whom were sick after the first day's march.

"I especially bring to the notice of the local Government the services of Maung Tun Win, Myoök, who has marched daily on rear-guard with the coolies, and who has ably seconded me in all matters.

"Maung Tun Win was in Kalembo when he received my telegram instructing him to join me as fast as possible as we were about to march to Lungleh, and in order to catch the column he marched 58 miles in three days through the Siyin country, and the next day started on the 12 days' continuous march to Daokoma.

"Finally, I bring to the notice of Government the great kindness which the column received at the hands of the Chittagong officials.

"To the Commissioner of Chittagong, Captain Shakespear, and Mr. C. S. Murray I record my hearty thanks for their generous hospitality to all ranks of the Nwengal-Lushai column."

At Chittagong the Nwengal column broke up, Captain Rose and Lieutenant Knapp, R.A., with the mountain gun, embarking for Calcutta, whilst the remainder of the column sailed to Rangoon in the *Dalhousie* and *Clive*, arriving on 30th May.

The detachment of the 39th Garhwal Rifles under the command of Lieutenant H. MacTier returned to Falam, the detachment of the 4th King's Royal Rifles rejoined the regiment at Myingyan, and the 4th Madras Pioneers returned to India.

Myoök Maung Tun Win took the Burman cooly corps back to the Kale valley; 34 died before they reached their homes, and what was the mortality amongst them later on was never ascertained. Of the 390 mules which started from Fort White less than 200 survived the effects of the march. Mr. Carey reached Fort White from Chittagong on 20th June.

After the return to Burma the troops suffered much from sickness, and several men of the King's Royal Rifles and of the Garhwal Rifles died in Burma after the column had broken up.

Events in the Northern Hills.

When Captain Rose started to relieve the Vansanga garrison, Captain Stevens was directed to march the Kanhow column into Fort White and to remain there in command of the Northern hills, and at the same time to send a British Officer and 70 men of the 1st Burma Rifles to hold Botung, Captain Rose's base, until news should be received of the safe arrival of the column at Fort Lungleh. Captain Stevens, who was at this time with Mr. Sherman visiting the northern Nwengal villages of Mwial and Kaptyal, returned therefore to Fort White, and Lieutenant Henegan was sent to command Botung,¹ a post of a few houses surrounded by a low stone wall and situated alongside of the village of that name.

No sooner had Captain Rose crossed the Lushai border than the villages around Botung conspired to attack this little post. Twum Tong, Chief of Kaptyal, was the originator of this scheme ; but his project was approved by not only the Nwengal Soktes, but also by Yahow and Whenoh villages. Twum Tong was the first Nwengal Chief to submit to British authority, and only a few days previously he had received Captain Stevens and Mr. Sherman with every mark of respect and hospitality at his village. His conduct, therefore, at first sight appears unaccountable, especially when it is remembered that some 200 Siyin and Sokte Chins were actually working for and accompanying the column when Twum Tong and his neighbours formulated this plan to attack Lieutenant Henegan.

Three years have elapsed since these events occurred, and we have learnt that Twum Tong at this time had no private quarrel with the Government, but being an astute Chief, he had grasped the policy of the Political Officer.

This was to withdraw guns whenever opportunity offered, steadily and unostentatiously, so as not to rouse the clans to combined resistance, which would undoubtedly have followed had a general disarmament been attempted. Twum Tong produced sound arguments to convince his neighbours that total disarmament was aimed at, and he called their attention to the fact that the Political Officer had during the season withdrawn guns from Kwungli, Taunghwe, Shellum, Shinshi, Yamwel, and Saimon, as well as from all Tashon, Yahow, Whenoh or Nwengal villages on various pretexts, as fines for raiding, disobedience of orders, or for carrying arms in the vicinity of the troops.

The Yahows and Whenohs were at this time much incensed against the Government as they had been forced to give up the 90 Chin captives whom they had raided from Sinnun in April 1891, and had also been made to disgorge the guns and other property which they had carried off on that occasion. The Nwengal village of Saimon too was smarting under the just but heavy punishment which it had recently received for refusing to supply coolies to the Lushai relief column.

¹ The garrison consisted of—

King's Royal Rifles, 31 rifles.

1st Burma Rifles, two non-commissioned officers and 68 rifles.

Sick men left by Captain Rose.

Before the force had collected to attack Botung, Twum Tong committed an act of open hostility by killing a British subject. Me San, the servant of Myoök Maung Tun Win, deserted from Captain Rose's column and returned with some Chin coolies, who had also deserted, to Hele village; on his arrival there he was seized by the villagers and brought before Twum Tong, who happened to be at Hele arranging for the attack on Botung, and who was drunk when Me San was produced before him. Without a moment's hesitation, he seized a gun and shot Me San dead by the side of the liquor pot from which he was drinking.

Mr. Sherman at Fort White received information of what was occurring in the Nwengal country, and having warned Captain Stevens of Lieutenant Henegan's danger, they both set off with a small party to his assistance. On 4th May, just after Captain Rose had joined Captain Shakespear in the heart of the Lushai hills Captain Stevens was opposed in force at the Manipur river below Molbem village, the Chins trying to prevent his crossing the now swollen river. After a brief skirmish the enemy was driven off¹ and Captain Stevens crossed his party over on a raft constructed of bamboos and rum kegs.

Two days later, as day was breaking, the Chins surrounded and opened fire on the Botung post at a range of 150 yards. Lieutenant Henegan had received information not only from a Political Department clerk at Molbem and from Fort White, but also from friendly Chins, that he would be attacked shortly, and he had stockaded himself and thrown up breastworks around the camp. When therefore the Chins opened fire on the 6th May the little garrison was well sheltered from the rain of bullets which announced the presence of the enemy.

Lieutenant Henegan, finding that the Chins had taken up a position which afforded them excellent cover, sent out small parties who turned them out and drove them over the hills with a loss of two killed and three wounded; the garrison only suffered one casualty. The post was not again attacked, and, when news came that Captain Rose had safely reached Lungleh, Botung was evacuated according to the original arrangements and the garrison marched in peace to the Manipur river. Here Lieutenant Henegan joined Captain Stevens, while the surplus rations which had been stored in Botung for the Nwengal column were carried back to the river by friendly Chins.

Captain Stevens then arranged to attack Hele in retaliation for the attack on his party at the river and also for the attack on Botung; he therefore proceeded in two parties and after a skirmish in which the Chins suffered a small loss, he captured the village and destroyed a few houses. The rains were now well started and Captain Stevens could not linger on the other side of the rapidly swelling river; he therefore reluctantly withdrew his parties and returned to Fort White, thus completing his most extraordinarily arduous season's work.

On his return to Fort White in June, the Political Officer, in reviewing the season's work, reported that this prompt and determined conduct of

¹ Our loss was two mules; the enemy afterwards admitted that they lost two men killed and one wounded.

Captain Stevens had probably prevented the spread of the rebellion, and that no future trouble need be anticipated, although it would be necessary to disarm Kaptyal and some of the neighbouring villages.

Results of the season's work.

The Political Officer drew his conclusions from the results of the season's work, for the Tashons had humbly, if not gracefully, submitted and had assisted us to build a post at their village, the Siyins and Soktes had refused to rebel in March when urged to do so by the Tashons, and the remote Nwitès, Yahows, and Whenohs had allowed their respective tracts to be explored without offering resistance. Moreover, the Political Officer knew that the Siyins and Nwengals were at enmity and he had yet to learn that hostile clans, however bitter their private feud may be, will usually forget their differences and combine to resist a common enemy, and he did not know at that time that the Yahow and Whenohs had played any leading part in the attack on Lieutenant Henegan. At this time the Siyins were still loyal to us. The next chapter shows that the Political Officer's conclusions were erroneous, and that the murder of Me San and the attack on Botung were not so easily punished, and Twum Tong was destined to play a leading part in Chin politics for one more year.

With the return of Captain Stevens the work of the open season came to an end, and in the Report on the Frontier Affairs of Burma in 1891-92 the result of the season's work was described in the following extracts from the reports of Political Officers :—

"The hitherto unknown and unexplored tracts inhabited by the Thados, Nwitès, Yos, Whenohs, and Nwengals have been explored and placed on the maps and the number and size of the villages ascertained, the whole of the northern tract having been explored and the people reduced to comparative order. Since the date of Mr. Carey's return to the Northern Chin Hills, 5th November 1891, 135 slaves have been recovered, and to this number must be added 24 Chin and 31 Burman slaves recovered by Captain Rose between the months of April and November 1891. The total number of slaves recovered is thus 190; of these 88 have been recovered from the Siyins, 32 from the Kanhowes, 11 from the Thados, 11 from the Nwitès, 36 from the Yahows and Whenohs, and 20 from the Nwengals. The slave difficulty may now be considered as settled. A mule-road to Lenacot from Fort White (80 miles) has been made and continued to the Manipur plain; hence a mule-road is now open from Manipur on the north to Haka on the south, and many Chin paths have been improved to admit of mule transport being used.

"No less than 17 villages have been punished, the fines usually taking the form of guns and other arms.

"A decided advance has been made in our relations with the northern Chins; no raids have been committed by them either in the hills or in Burma; and lastly, and by far the most significant fact of all, a large gang of Chin coolies accompanied the Lushai relief column through an enemy's country to Lungleh. Perhaps the revival of the old trade between Chinland and Burma has been one of the most successful attainments of the season. The Siyins visit Kalembo in scores and sometimes as often as three times a week, while Kalembo traders hawk their wares in Siyin villages.

"The Kanhowes and Thados are trading most freely at Yazagyo. The Kale State a short while back was considered incapable of paying its tribute of Rs. 19,000. The taxes collected this year far exceed this sum, and immigration into the State is as steady now as was the emigration in 1888-89.

"In the south previous to this year's work we occupied the important post of Haka and, to secure our communication, the small post at Rawvan also, and our real influence could not be said to extend more than 12 or 14 miles around Haka and from Haka along the road to Burma. Compare this with our position at the end of the season²—from the banks of the Nankathè (as far north as latitude 23° 15') to the marches of the Chinmè country in latitude 21° 45' to the south and from Burma to the east right up to the Tipi and Koladyne

and the Tyaovar on the west, we have established our authority, not a village of any importance having been left unvisited. The Baungshes have been brought to heel, the Klangklangs severely punished for their outbreak in 1891, and the Tashons dominated once for all by the establishment of a permanent post at Falam; new lines of communication have been opened out, among them a traced mule-track from Kunchaung to Haka, and a mule-track made by the Chins themselves from Minywa to Shurkwa."

The local Government considered the result of the year's work most satisfactory and as reflecting the highest credit on the Military and Civil Officers who conducted the operations. The thanks of the local Governments of Bengal and Burma were accorded to Captain Rose and Mr. Carey for the Lushai Relief march, and their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief commended the exceptionally good work done by that column.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EVENTS OF 1892-93 INCLUDING THE SIYIN-NWENGAL REBELLION.

AT the close of the season's operations Captain Stevens handed over command of the Northern Chin Hills to Captain Caulfeild, Garrison of 1st Burma Rifles, and the Northern Hills were garrisoned by a large detachment of that regiment and a small detachment of the 39th Garhwal Rifles. On 25th June Mr. Sherman, Assistant Political Officer, was invalided to England and was relieved by Mr. E. O. Fowler.

In May, June, and July, several offences¹ were committed on our lines of communication which were ascribed to the Nwengals, though we have since learnt that the Siyins were also guilty. It was impossible to take any action against the Nwengals during the rains, and the Political Officer had to content himself with warning the Siyins not to identify their tribe with the Nwengals, as severe punishment would be meted out to the offenders later on, as soon as the rains should cease.

In spite of the frequent outrages committed, the Siyin Chiefs repeatedly visited Fort White and nothing in their behaviour betokened the coming storm; moreover, at the end of June several Toklaing Chins were enlisted as civil constables and stationed at Fort White.

During the month of July, Yetol,² the eldest son of Kanhow, died. At Haka and Falam the only event of interest during the rains was an unsuccessful attempt made by Lieutenant Macnabb and Lieutenant Rainey to arrest Lalwe, the Klangklang outlaw, who was said to have returned to his village to attend the funeral of his brother. The party, consisting of 150 rifles of the 2nd Burma Battalion, started at nightfall on the 21st June. The darkness of the night and the difficult crossings of the Titavar much impeded the

¹ A Burman was shot at No. 4 on 16th May.

A duffadar was shot at No. 2 on 30th May.

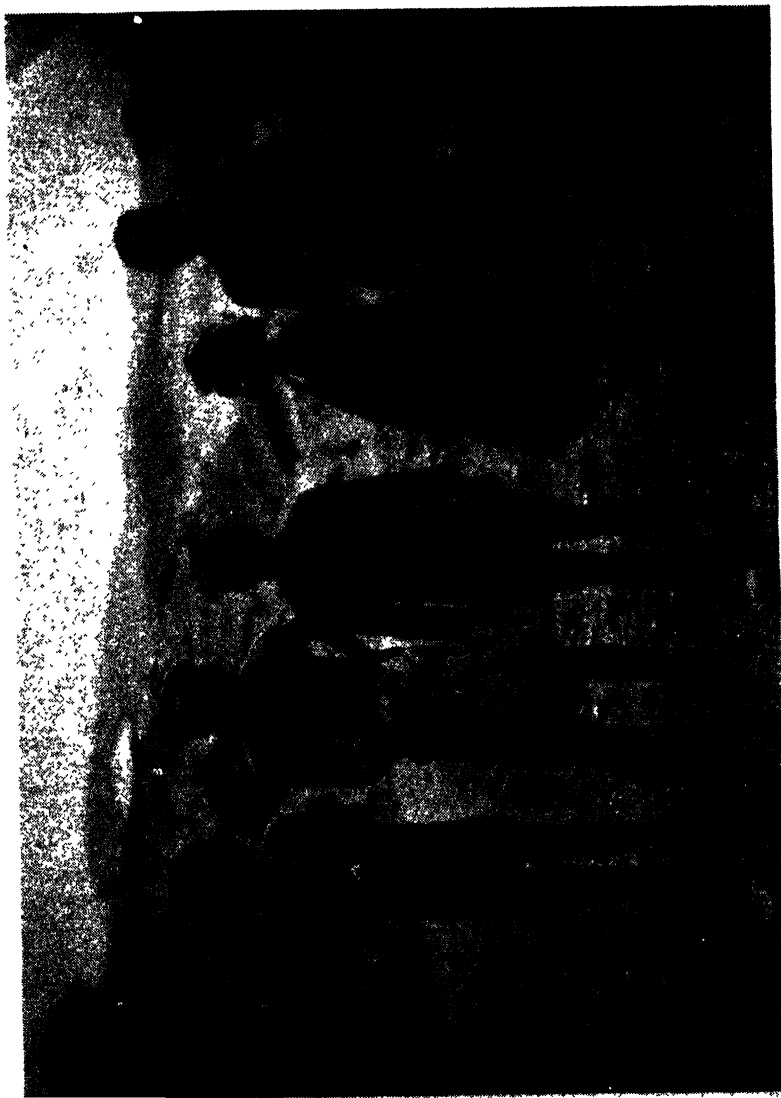
A Burman was cut up near No. 4 on 30th June.

Two Burmans were shot at No. 2 on 11th July.

The telegraph wire was cut on several occasions.

A quantity of cooking-pots were stolen from Fort White on 28th June.

² After Captain Rundall's attack on Tunzan in 1891, Yetol migrated across the Kanhow border into the hills south of Manipur and settled there. The Agent at Manipur informed the Political Officer that he could arrest Yetol if he was wanted, and, on receiving an answer in the affirmative, directed the Kukis to catch Yetol, who, however, died before this was effected.



Survey of India Office, Calcutta, November 1911.

23. SIYIN MODE OF COIFFURE.

Photo-collage.

party, and it was late next morning before Klangklang was reached. Lalwe made good his escape, and after fining the village in live-stock for harbouring him the column returned to Haka.

Lieutenant Macnabb's health now completely broke down, he was invalided to Europe, and the Southern Chin Hills were made over to Mr. Carey in addition to his northern jurisdiction. Mr. R. O'Donnell was posted to Haka in charge of the Hakas and independent southern villages, and assumed charge of his duties on 2nd August.

On 1st September, accompanied by Myoök Maung Tun Win and a small escort, Mr. Carey left Fort White on tour to the Southern Chin Hills.

The Siyin-Nwengal rebellion.

Whilst engaged on this tour in the south, Twum Tong, the Chief of Kaptyal, succeeded in inducing the Twuntak and Toklaing clans of Siyins to join common cause with him, to rebel and attempt to drive our troops from the hills¹. The story of the outbreak of the rebellion and the subsequent operations was given in detail by Mr. Carey in a report to the local Government, dated the 26th May 1893, and the following extract from his report may be utilized to continue the thread of this narrative:—

“On 1st September 1892 I left Fort White on a protracted tour of inspection in the Southern Chin Hills, and Mr. Fowler was left in charge of the Northern Chin Hills. When I left Fort White I looked on the behaviour of the Siyins and Kanhows as satisfactory, all the Chiefs with the exception of Karmlung of Pomba and Kuppow of Pimpi having come in to wish me good-bye, and I had not a suspicion of the deep plot which was then being planned by the very men who were bidding me farewell, and as for the conduct of the Nwengals I looked on it as annoying rather than dangerous, and I was counting on bringing them into order in another three months and as soon as the rains ceased

I now submitted a programme of operations for the coming open season to the Chief Secretary; it included the partial disarmament of the guilty Nwengal villages.

On my arrival at Haka I received instructions from Rangoon restricting the carrying of guns in the Northern Chin Hills within a certain radius of the posts and on all lines of communication. Mr. Fowler duly advertised this order, which was badly received by the Siyins.

On the 20th September Mr. Fowler telegraphed to me that he had received information that Lushais and Yahows had met at Kaptyal to arrange with the Nwengals a plan for open hostilities against the Government, and that the Pimpi Chins sympathized with the movement. On receipt of this news I made a double march to Falam and interviewed the Falam Chiefs, who denied all knowledge of the occurrence.

I telegraphed to Mr. Fowler that such a thing as Lushais and Chins combining was impossible as the Northern Chins and the Lushais are old enemies, and I informed him that it was improbable, now that the open season was at hand, that those villages implicated in the rising of May had met and were discussing the advisability of war or surrender. I also instructed him to warn Pimpi not to be led into trouble and to remind them of all they suffered in 1888—90.

¹ When the Nwengals attacked Botung and resisted Captain Stevens' advance to the assistance of that garrison, the Siyins had in no way identified themselves with the revolt, and it was not until July or August that they were persuaded to espouse Twum Tong's cause. That old Chief realized that the murder of Me San and the attack on Botung would not pass unpunished, and he therefore convened several councils to discuss the action which he should take. Kaikam, the son of Kuppow, the Siyin Chief, was notorious for his love of raiding and warfare, and Twum Tong induced him to go to Kaptyal to attend his meetings. He had but small difficulty in persuading him that the Government intended to disarm all the Chins piecemeal and that the Nwengals would be dealt with first and after them

Mr. Fowler's answer was that Twum Tong had sent in messengers offering to surrender and asking for terms, and this action on his part I looked at as very natural, as Twum Tong had much to lose by war, his magnificent village had never been destroyed, and to this fact was due his influence and the size of his village, which was largely recruited from Sokte villages which had been destroyed in 1888-89.

At first I determined to start at once for Fort White to arrange matters with Twum Tong, but finally I decided to complete my inspection in the Southern Chin Hills and to send Maung Tun Win to represent me. I chose Maung Tun Win for this mission owing to his long experience in the Chin Hills, his influence with the Siyin Chiefs, and his friendly relations with the people generally, and on account of his exquisite tact, which had on several occasions brought similar delicate negotiations to a successful termination; moreover, he was personally acquainted with Twum Tong.

Maung Tun Win having received his instructions, now set out for Fort White and I continued my tour, eventually arriving at Kalembo on 9th October 1892; here I was met by Mr. Fowler, who reported that fresh murders¹ had recently been committed on the line of communication, that the behaviour of Pimpi was very unsatisfactory,

the Siyins. He explained that, if the surrounding tribes would but combine, there should be no difficulty in driving the troops from the hills and thus saving their guns. Kaikam and Twum Tong took an oath to stand by each other and to attack the troops. It was decided not to commence open hostilities until after the crops were gathered; this would also give time to win over the surrounding tribes to join the cause. Envoys were at once sent round the country and every Chief was approached on the subject, with the result that the Nwengals believed that all would combine when once the initiative was taken, for the Tashons had not refused to listen to the proposal, the Sagyilains had agreed to fight when the Tashons took the field, and Dok Taung and Howchinkup were young men and moreover related to the Nwengals, and, although they now pleaded that they were averse to fighting, yet Twum Tong calculated that the Soktes could not hold aloof when once hostilities commenced.

Kaikam and Twum Tong decided that the first step to take was to remove the Political Officer, the Myoök, and the Interpreters, so that there should be none left to advise and guide the troops. With this object in view they sent messengers to the Political Officer informing him that Twum Tong repented of his recent misbehaviour and that he would pay a fine of three cooly-loads of guns and an ivory tusk if the Political Officer would meet him in a Siyin village and allow him to take a fresh oath of submission. It was a pure accident that the Political Officer did not fall into the trap set for him in the same way as his native assistants, but it so happened that he had left for a tour in the south before Twum Tong's message reached Fort White.

Mang Lon of Sagyilain and Dok Taung both warned the Assistant Political Officer that Twum Tong meant mischief, but the Political Officer had grown so accustomed to this cry of "wolf" that he took no more notice of these warnings than to the numerous previous ones which had so often proved unfounded. When Maung Tun Win was sent to open negotiations with Twum Tong and to keep in touch with him until the Political Officer should return, he was merely cautioned in a letter containing instructions not to trust Twum Tong and not to meet him at any but Sagyilain or Pomba villages, which were considered to be the most friendly to us.

Immediately on his return from Falam to Fort White the Myoök commenced negotiations with the Siyins and Nwengals with the view of meeting Twum Tong near the post.

The Chins chose Pomba as the meeting place. Kaikam collected the Siyins, and Pow Dal, son of Twum Tong, crossed the Manipur river at the head of the Nwengals; the united forces were found to be so great that only one-half were required, placed in position, and came into action: these numbered some 200 strong, all armed with guns. The Chins suffered but small loss in the attack; it is known that one man was killed by a blow with a clubbed rifle, another was shot dead by the Myoök with his revolver before he himself was riddled with bullets, and probably half a dozen in all were killed and wounded.

¹ Between 11th July and 9th October no murders had been committed in the Hills and this was attributed to the interference of the Tashons. But as we afterwards learned that Falam had in no way tried to restrain the Nwengals, the immunity from outrages between July and October must be accounted for by the fact that during these months the hill-men are busy gathering in their crops.

whilst the Nwengals were in an excitable state. This news I telegraphed to Rangoon and prepared to return to Fort White by the next convoy. That evening, however, I received a telegram from the Officer Commanding Fort White stating that a catastrophe had occurred, that the Myoök had gone out to meet Twum Tong and had been ambushed, and that he and the majority of the escort were reported cut up. After telegraphing to all stations in the Chin Hills and warning all officers along the border, I left Kalembo accompanied by Mr. Tuck, Mr. Fowler, and Lieutenant Firth, and, marching throughout the night, I reached Fort White the following morning.

The following narrative explains Maung Tun Win's actions and what had occurred since his departure from Falam :—

Maung Tun Win duly arrived at Fort White and sent messengers to Twum Tong saying that he was authorized to offer him a pardon on condition that he surrendered 150 guns, on account of his village only, and that he was willing to meet him and discuss matters at Mobingyi or any other convenient place. Messages were then freely exchanged, principally regarding the meeting-place. Eventually the Myoök and Twum Tong agreed on Pomba village (the home of all the Siyin police) and the date fixed was 9th October, and word was brought in that the Sagylain, Darbôn, and Mobingyi Chiefs had all promised to attend the meeting, which would take the form of a feast.

The Myoök was an officer of great experience with the Chins and he had with him my whole staff of interpreters and others, including Aung Zan, a Chin by birth, and Aung Gyi, who had spent 15 years in these hills; these men knew the Chin character thoroughly and I had the greatest faith in their opinion. None of these persons suspected the slightest treachery; the Myoök sent money to buy pigs for the feast, whilst Aung Gyi sent out money at the same time to buy a rhinoceros horn.

At 6 A.M., on the 9th October, the Myoök, accompanied by Aung Zan, Aung Gyi, another Burman, and also by two Chin policemen, one of whom carried his rifle, and escorted by 30 rifles of the 1st Burma Rifles under the command of Havildar Harrak Singh Gurung, left Fort White for Pomba. Captain Caulfeild, knowing the nature of the meeting, had given an unusually large escort. At about noon Karmut,¹ a Kanhow, came to the post and informed Captain Caulfeild that treachery was intended and that he had come to warn the Myoök from going to Pomba. Captain Caulfeild at once despatched Lieutenant Henegan with reinforcements to join the Myoök. Meanwhile the Myoök's escort had proceeded along the old Fort White road divided into an advanced guard, main body and rear-guard, the Myoök riding behind the advanced guard and at the head of the main body.

At old Fort White Siyin Chins met the party and informed the Myoök that Twum Tong was awaiting him at Pomba, and they then left taking a short cut over the hills under pretence of preparing Twum Tong for his reception, but in reality to warn the ambushers of the approach of the party and to take up their own positions. The little party continued its route, passed through old Fort White, and was proceeding in single file along the narrow track leading round the hillside to Pomba, when suddenly a heavy volley was poured into it from three sides out of the high grass and tangled undergrowth and at a range of a few feet only; the volley was succeeded by brisk independent firing. The advanced guard was mown down with the exception of one man, whose cap was shot off his head, and the Myoök,² Aung Gyi,³ Aung Zan,⁴ and the other Burman were all lying dead together with half the main body of the escort. The Chins now rushed in and the fight developed into a hand-to-hand struggle, the most advanced sepoy fighting with clubbed rifles, whilst those in the rear fired as fast as possible, but the little

¹ Karmut received a present of a gun and a reward in money for his services on this occasion.

² Myoök Maung Tun Win was a young Arakanese, who was appointed to the Chin Hills in 1889; he served with great credit in the Chin-Lushai expedition of 1889-90. He assisted Captain Rundall throughout 1891 and was present at the attack of Tunzan. He accompanied the Kanhow column to Manipur and the Nwengal column on its relief march to Lushai and thence to Chittagong. He was a most excellent officer in every respect, being zealous, honest and plucky. His death was greatly deplored by all officers connected with the Chin Hills, both Military as well as Civil.

³ Aung Gyi was a Burman and had served as interpreter to the several Political Officers since 1888.

⁴ Aung Zan was a 'tame' Chin and a resident of Ateywa; he had served since 1888 as interpreter.

party, fighting on a narrow pathway, had no chance against the long odds against it, and so gathering the wounded together, the survivors fought their way to a knoll close by, and, collecting round their wounded comrades, they poured volleys into the Chins. The Havildar¹ now found that of his party seven were killed and eight more wounded. He, however, despatched first two men and then one more man to carry the news to Fort White, and with the remaining 11 men he held his ground, and when Lieutenant Henegan, with reinforcements, arrived on the scene, he found the enemy driven off and the survivors still holding their position. The wounded were afterwards found to have received from two to eight wounds each. The dead fell into the hands of the enemy, being dragged into the jungle during the hand-to-hand scuffle. I have since examined the ground and am of opinion that it was perfectly impossible to have prevented this, and I consider that it reflects the greatest credit on the regiment that so gallant a stand was made by so few men against such terrible odds. In a position selected by the enemy for the disadvantage it gave the troops. The three men who broke through the enemy and brought the information to Fort White showed excellent courage.

Lieutenant Henegan brought back the wounded to Fort White, but failed to find the body of the Myoök. The enemy stripped and then mutilated the bodies of the dead, and the following arms and ammunition fell into their hands for the time being :—

- One double-barrelled gun and ammunition.
- One Martini-Henry rifle and ammunition.
- One revolver and six rounds.
- Eight Snider rifles and 320 rounds.

The next day a strong party left Fort White to bury the dead, and the Chins collected to prevent this and opened fire on the troops, who pressed forward and drove back the Chins on to Pomba, which village, together with Shark, the latter set in flames. The Myoök's body was recovered and brought into Fort White.

Captain Caulfeild (1st Burma Rifles) was at this time commanding the troops in the Northern Chin Hills, and together we discussed the situation and placed on record our immediate plans. They were as follows :—

- (1) To clearly ascertain which villages had rebelled.
- (2) To immediately take the offensive.
- (3) To use every effort to confine the rebellion to those already implicated, and guilty or not guilty, to exonerate certain Siyin villages for the time being, of which Sagyilain should be one; these villages were to be used for purposes of information and to divide the Chins by splitting them into two sets, the "hostile" and the "friendly."
- (4) To stop all trade with Burma.

On the 11th October the high-lands were patrolled to advertise our presence, and the next day, with an escort of 70 rifles, I marched to Nashwin village, hoping to get into touch with the Chief with the view of ascertaining the extent and character of the rising and to re-assure any who were as yet loyal. On my arrival I was greeted with bullets from the piquets, but pushing on to the village, I eventually got into shouting communication with the Chief, who promised to convey my messages of defiance to the rebels and of re-assurance to the friendlies, and he also promised to send in a deputation to Fort White the following day. True to the promise of the previous day, Chins came to the post and gave information regarding the innocent and the guilty, and also imparted the information that heavy firing had been heard in the Tiddim direction, and that it was believed that Tiddim post was surrounded in force. Leaving Mr. Tuck to carry on my work and Lieutenant Henegan to command Fort White, Captain Caulfeild and I, with an escort of 60 men, immediately started for Tiddim, and marching throughout the night arrived the following morning; so far the post had not been attacked, but an escort had been fired on and friendlies warned us that an attack on the post might be expected at any moment. We consequently sent friendlies to the Nwengals to advise an immediate attack on the post; but although the Nwengals did come and fire into the post at long ranges, they could not be enticed to venture into the open, consequently we were unable to inflict that crushing blow on the rebels whereby we trusted to steady the wavering and to check the spread of the rebellion.

¹ The Havildar received the Order of Merit for his conduct on this occasion.

Immediately on my arrival at Tiddim, I summoned all the Kanhows and Soktes. Howchinkup, the Kanhow Chief, at once came into Tiddim, as also did several Sokte headmen, and the result of my interviews with them was that one and all promised to remain true to their oaths and firm to their allegiance, a promise which the Kanhows throughout the subsequent operations kept most honourably. From their geographical position the Soktes were surrounded with difficulty and temptation; their villages were bordered by the rebel Nwengal tract on the west and by the rebel Siyin tract on the east, and therefore it is no matter of wonder that they tried to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.

Having now re-assured the Kanhows and failing to induce the rebels to fight a decisive battle, Captain Caulfeild and I returned to Fort White, leaving Mr. Fowler, Assistant Political Officer, to deal with the Kanhows and Soktes, and Lieutenant Sutton in command of Tiddim. On reaching Fort White, we found that 100 rifles of the Garhwal Rifles under Lieutenant Wardell had marched through from Falam to reinforce us, and they were a welcome addition to the small force which was at the time available for taking the offensive. The next day Lieutenant Henegan and Mr. Tuck marched against Yo village, but the enemy had decamped, burning the village behind him.

Up to this time troops had been daily moving in all directions, but now the final burst of the rains broke and for 16 days and nights fell unceasingly, shattering our hopes of wiping out the rebel villages without delay. This deluge, whilst absolutely preventing military operations, did not materially affect the work of Political Officers, and the time was spent in collecting information, formulating a plan of campaign, and collecting informers and friendlies and preventing the spread of the rebellion south. Major Browne, D.S.O. (Garhwal Rifles), in the absence of the Assistant Political Officer, interested himself very keenly in political matters, and by frequent interviews with the Falam Chiefs, obtained a declaration of loyalty.¹

The Sagyilain and Bweman clans of the Siyin tribe, two Nwengal villages, and a few Sokte villages remained loyal, and I was now encouraged to telegraph to Rangoon that the rebellion was confined to the majority of the Nwengal villages and one-half of the Siyin tribe only, and that the spread of the rising was checked, and this afterwards proved correct.

Now as to the persons who had rebelled. They were Nwengals and Siyins, persons who had been administered with consideration and even with kindness. I had attempted to lead the Chin into ways of law and order and not to drive him. What had been the result of this honest attempt to temper the wind to the shorn lamb?—treachery, barbarous murder, and revolt, which demanded that the generous policy of the past should give way to more stringent measures and that the rebels should now be disarmed.

In the plains disarmament can be effected without destroying villages and starving the people into submission, but in Chinland the enemy never sustains an attack, never holds a position, and never fights unless the physical features of the country give him every advantage. How, I ask, is such an enemy in such a country to be forced to surrender the arms with which he can be no longer trusted without burning him out, driving him into the jungles, and starving him into submission?

I wish it to be plainly understood that no other course can be adopted if this class of enemy is to be subdued, and although severe measures had to be resorted to in order to gain our ends, the standing villages of Shwungzan and Mwial in the Nwengal country and the Siyin villages of Vökla and Narlpi and the Sokte villages of Wunkathe and Saiyan are all evidence that this war of retribution was waged with no savage ferocity, but was tempered with more humanity and generosity than the rebels ever deserved or expected. The plan of campaign was based on different lines to the former Chin campaigns; it was arranged that first of all large columns should break down all combined opposition and then that the large columns should be broken up to furnish garrisons for many small outposts, which should be placed in all centres of cultivation and abodes of the rebels.

I ask you to follow this plan through my report and it will be seen that the large columns duly gave way to many small garrisons, which in due course were withdrawn and were finally used as escorts to Political and Military Officers who made peaceful village-to-village patrols disarming the country. The work of the large columns was to

¹ Although the Tashons did not openly declare themselves hostile to us, we have since learnt that they approved of Twum Tong's action, and that they were fully aware of the hostile combination when the Political Officer visited Falam and that they intentionally withheld this information from him.

break down all combined opposition and to scatter the rebels. The garrisons of the outposts were entrusted with attacking and pursuing the enemy, driving him from nullah to nullah, and, while giving him no rest, to also discover and destroy all food-supplies, both live-stock and grain, and thus starve him into submission. The work of the political escorts was of a simple and peaceful nature.

I have already recorded who the rebels were and that drink and the fear of a general disarmament (which was not then contemplated) were the causes of the rising, and I now mention that the intention and hope of the rebels was to drive the British from their hills, and their plan of campaign was that the Nwengals should operate against Tiddim, whilst the Siyins should attend to Fort White and its line of communication. The tactics to be adopted were never to make a sustained attack, but for ever to hang around the posts, shooting the unwary and the stragglers, whilst every convoy was to be ambushed, the plains raided, roads blocked, mules stolen, the telegraph line destroyed, and in short the troops to be so harassed that Government would finally sicken of the task and recall the troops from the hills.

During October and November the Chin plan of campaign was carried on with vigour by the Siyins, but with poor spirit by the Nwengals; we lost several men killed and wounded, the telegraph line was destroyed, mules were stolen, the Fort White-Kalemyo road blocked, and No. 3 Stockade attacked and fired into on several occasions, whilst Toungu, a village in Kale, was raided, three persons being killed and six more carried off into captivity.

At the end of October, and before the rain had ceased, Captain Presgrave arrived with the headquarters of his regiment and assumed the command of the Northern Chin Hills from Captain Caulfeild, and at the same time reinforcements, British and Native, and two mountain guns appeared on the scenes.

The heavy rains ceased on 2nd November and the next day active operations were renewed by a column marching to Tiddim.

On 5th November Dimlo was surprised and destroyed.

On 6th November Shwimpi was destroyed after a brisk skirmish.

On 7th November we had a skirmish with the enemy.

On 10th November Tannwe was destroyed and on the same day a large combined force of Siyins and Soktes attempted to capture the mules and cut up their escort. The Chins were driven off with loss and hunted over the hills.

On 13th November a party proceeded against Tunpa, but the Chins had abandoned the site.

On 14th November and five following days a large column operated against the Pimpi rebels, who burnt their villages and with whom we had several skirmishes.

On the night of the 17th the Nwengals in large force attacked Tiddim post, but did not venture into close quarters, and on this occasion the Sokte villagers of Larmyan and Losow assisted the rebels by furnishing misleading information to the Assistant Political Officer, and it will be noticed further on that their conduct did not escape notice or themselves adequate punishment.

The Pimpi expedition was immediately followed by an expedition against Mòntòk and Tanya which left Fort White on the 20th November and returned on the 30th. This expedition was eminently successful and the military police column, accompanied by Mr. Porter, Deputy Commissioner, Upper Chindwin district, and under the command of Lieutenant Andrew, Commandant of Police, co-operated from the plain.

Brigadier-General Palmer, C.B., arrived at Fort White on 28th November to conduct military operations in person. Whilst generally approving the plan of campaign as arranged, the General Officer Commanding considered the troops inadequate for the work and further reinforcements were at once forthcoming. The expeditionary force in the Northern Chin Hills at this time was as follows :—

No. 7, Mountain Battery, R.A.	...	...	...	2 guns.
Norfolk Regiment	...	...	...	200 rifles.
1st Burma Rifles	...	...	...	600 "
5th Burma Battalion	...	...	...	300 "
6th Burma Battalion	...	...	...	450 "
Garhwal Rifles	...	...	...	175 "
21st Madras Pioneers	...	...	...	550 "
28th Madras Native Infantry	...	...	...	175 "
One Company, Queen's Own Sappers and Miners	...	...	...	100 "
Total			...	2,550 rifles & 2 guns.

On 1st December the Siyin friendlies gave warning of an intended raid on Imbaung, and this information was flashed to Lieutenant McCrea of the Upper Chindwin Police Battalion, who at once set out for Imbaung. Meanwhile the raiders had accidentally come across some military police, whom they ambushed, killing three and carrying off their rifles. They then moved further south and attacked Myauk-Indaing at night and just as Lieutenant McCrea was passing *en route* to Imbaung. Lieutenant McCrea with ten men attacked the raiders and drove them off, killing one Siyin Chin and shooting three more, whom, however, the enemy succeeded in carrying off. Although buffaloes have since been carried off by Chins, no other raids were attempted on the plains.

As all the principal Siyin villages had now been destroyed and the Nankathè was still too swollen to admit of troops crossing to the Nwengal country, I went to Kale and for two weeks laid traps and ambushes for the Chins, but without success. As I have already recorded, no Chins raided on the plains. The plains were nevertheless strongly garrisoned by troops and military police, both mounted and infantry.

At this time the Falam Chiefs maintained an attitude which I can merely describe as neutral; they would not assist the Siyins with arms and they would not assist me with coolies, and this conduct cost their border villages very dearly later on when our hands were less full.

On 12th December and following days Laibôn village was attacked and destroyed and several skirmishes occurred, and before the end of December every rebel Siyin village had been destroyed.

On 15th December Lieutenant Wardell and 100 men of the Garhwal Rifles garrisoned Phunum.

On 20th December Pimpi post was garrisoned by Captain Keary, D.S.O., and a detachment of the 6th Burma Battalion.

On 28th December the Mòntók post was established by Lieutenant Taylor and a detachment of the 5th Burma Battalion. Besides these three outposts, Fort White, Dimlo and Tiddim were all in position to operate against the rebels, and with matters so far advanced in the Siyin country the General Officer Commanding with a force consisting as follows moved against the Nwengals:—

7th Mountain Battery, R.A.	...	...	...	2 guns.
Norfolk Regiment	...	...	...	100 rifles.
Queen's Own Sappers and Miners	...	...	...	30 "
1st Burma Rifles	...	...	...	200 "
5th Burma Battalion	...	...	...	100 "
21st Madras Pioneers	...	...	...	50 "

Total ... 480 rifles & 2 guns.

I was accompanied on this expedition by Messrs. Tuck and Fowler, Assistant Political Officers.

The objective of this column was Kaptyal, the principal Nwengal village and home of Twum Tong, the rebel leader of the Nwengals. The route decided on was by Dimlo, Saivan, and the Saivan crossing, and the distance to Kaptyal was 26 miles.

The villages of Saivan and Chin Nwe were destined to pay 100 guns fine for neglecting to cut the rope bridge below their villages last October when I ordered them to do so, but their position on the line of communication caused me to postpone the date of payment until the return of the column. Both villages rendered good service in supplying building materials and carrying letters during the operations in the Nwengal country. The river was still very swollen and at this time of the year the Lamyán ford would be preferable.

It was found necessary to construct a floating bridge, a work of no small difficulty, as neither would drift-wood or standing timber float, nor were bamboos procurable in the vicinity. Parties were sent out to a distance to get bamboos, and Chins provided planks, and the bridge was duly floated, but even after this difficulty had been surmounted, the rapid current and a dangerous back-water necessitated very light loading, consequently the passage of the Nankathè was not accomplished under nine days of most arduous toil, not only to the Sappers and Pioneers, but also to the European and Native troops, who worked the drag ropes all day and far into the night. During these days the Chins were far from idle, they fired on working parties and on convoys, and on the 10th and 11th January they kept up a sharp but ineffectual fusillade for several hours, being finally driven off by shell from the guns and volleys from the infantry.

On 12th January the first detachment of troops crossed the river and the next day reconnoitred towards Kaptyal, a movement which caused the rebels to set their village in flames. On 14th January the entire force had crossed the river, and an immediate advance was made on the village, which was occupied the same evening without resistance. Kaptyal was surrounded by rebel villages, and from Kaptyal as centre or base, columns and parties radiated daily and in every direction, pursuing the enemy, burning certain villages, and destroying granaries and capturing live-stock. An infinite amount of hard work was done during the two weeks which followed the occupation of Kaptyal, and although the enemy were seldom met and but few skirmishes are recorded, yet the bustling that the enemy experienced, accompanied by the destruction of the greater part of his food-supplies proved, later on that, although the Chin may be too fleet and wily to be caught or killed, yet determined perseverance can force him into surrender. There was, however, one stand made by the Nwengals at Hele, and here the enemy occupied a strong stockaded position in force and opened a heavy fire on the advancing column. The column at once extended right and left and, with every man in action, the mountain gun was brought up within 400 yards of the stockades, and although the Chins showed determination, they were unable to stand before the shells and the steady volleys from the infantry, who were rapidly outflanking the position. Falling back they were eventually lost in the nullahs and jungles of that very broken country.

I had already drafted the terms of surrender for the Nwengal rebels in accordance with the instructions I had received from the Chief Secretary, and now that the Nwengals had been punished, I proclaimed them as publicly as possible. As my diaries and reports have been very full, it is unnecessary to increase the bulk of this report by including the draft¹ as it stands; it suffices to record that the terms included the surrender of the rebel leaders, the furnishing of hostages for future good behaviour, and the paying up of one gun for every house in all rebel villages as shown in the registers on 9th October; also it was laid down that the stolen Government rifles and the raided Toungu Burmans should be returned, and that a suitable compensation in cash should be paid to Toungu village for damage done in the raid, and also that compensation should be paid to the relatives of those persons (sepoys and others) who were treacherously murdered on 9th October. Furthermore, in order to prevent as far as possible future ambuscades on the high roads, every village was directed to clear the jungle and undergrowth for 50 yards on either side of its main road.

I now felt that there must be many who were willing to buy peace at the price of their guns, but the difficulty is always to make a start.

Paiyan, Laitui, and Mwial villages were clean-handed as regarded the attack on the Myook's party, but had failed to warn us of the serious nature of the impending rising, hence I selected these three villages to be the first to surrender guns. I fixed small fines, but in default of payment threatened heavy penalties (Mwial and Laitui were afterwards disarmed for harbouring rebels). The guns were paid, 30 in all, and I now used the Paiyan Chief and others to inform the rebel Chief of Shwungzan that his village would be spared if he commenced immediately to lay down his arms. This he did, and thus on 25th January the enemy commenced to lay down his arms. With matters at this stage the General Officer Commanding returned to Fort White to meet the Major-General Commanding Burma. Captain Caulfeild was left in command at Kaptyal with a detachment of 250 men to carry out the plan of campaign with Mr. Fowler, Assistant Political Officer, to whom I now entrusted the Nwengal policy. I accompanied the General Officer Commanding to Fort White, arriving there on 29th January. Mr. Tuck now returned to the Southern Chin Hills, his presence there being necessary on account of the behaviour of the Kiangklang tribe.

During the month of January, and whilst the Nwengal rebels were being dispersed by the General Officer Commanding, the garrisons of the Siyin outposts had been faithfully carrying out the programme. The daily heliograms and weekly diaries of the several Officers Commanding were full of interest, recording night marches, ambuscades, and invariably successful skirmishes; also describing the surprising of camps, the burning of tons of grain, and the capture of live-stock. And it was abundantly clear that it was merely necessary to continue these tactics to bring the expedition to a successful termination. One of the most successful operations at this time was a combined attack on Dimlo, Shwimpi, and Dimpi camps by troops from Tiddim, Dimlo, and Phunum, under the command of Lieutenants Wardell and Sutton. Five Chins were killed and the entire camps were captured including the granaries and live-stock.

¹The draft of terms imposed is given in Appendix.

At this time Captain Keary, D.S.O., was meeting with much opposition at Pimpi, his losses in five days' skirmishing, including a night attack on the post, were three men killed, one British officer, one non-commissioned officer, and one sepoy wounded.

On 31st January the detachment of the Garhwali Rifles left the Chin Hills for India, and before they saw the result of their labours; but that they were not barren a glance at the Phunum, Dimpri, and Dimlo gun-list will show.

Immediately on my return from the Nwengal country I looked around for some Siyin villages to commence the surrender of guns. I selected Nashwin and Koset (the least guilty), and yielding to the persuasion of the Sagyilain friendlies they slowly commenced bringing in guns. At the beginning of February the combined opposition at Pimpi ceased, and part of that garrison was withdrawn and placed at Pomba to operate against the Toklaing clan of Siyins. On 9th February an elaborate combined movement against those rebels failed owing to Wunkathe village warning them and Sagyilain and Darbôn harbouring them, and I was convinced that the state of affairs then existing was that the rebels were actively cultivating land in the immediate vicinity of the friendly villages, nor did this appear surprising when the relationship of the Sagyilains to the Toklaings is examined.

This action of the friendlies was one which could only be accepted as hostile to Government, being nothing less than the aiding and abetting of the rebels. I therefore declared Sagyilain, Darbôn, Mobingyi, Vökla, and Narpi to be rebels, and represented to the General Officer Commanding that all cultivation in the Siyin tract should be prevented. The General Officer Commanding consequently withdrew the Pomba post and dividing the garrison, placed half at Sagyilain and half at Vökla. The Sagyilain and other Chiefs were then called up and informed that as they had assisted the rebels to evade disarmament, they themselves were now declared rebels, that their villages, however, would not be attacked, but that all cultivation must cease until the rebels had laid down their arms, and until they themselves had paid a fine in guns which would be hereafter fixed. The Vökla and Sagyilain garrisons did not hunt the rebels and search the nullahs, they merely patrolled the country, preventing all cultivation by arresting or firing on all cultivators. The result of this plan was immediate and startling. The Sagyilain quickly recovered the stolen Government rifles and the Myoök's rifle and gun, and they also collected a quantity of the guns of the rebels and produced those Toungu captives who were in the possession of the Siyins. Captain Murray, 1st Burma Rifles, now took a detachment to Wunkathe to prevent all cultivation until the Dimpri and Dimlo rebels surrendered, and to fine the village 50 guns for harbouring the Toklaings and other rebels. Captain Murray forced the Chief to pay up the 50 guns and also some of the Dimlo and Dimpri guns, but the majority of these villagers escaped across the river to Mwial and Laitui where I settled with them later on.

In order to bring pressure on the false friendlies to make them take a keen interest in the disarmament of the rebels, not only was their cultivation stopped, but they were directed to provide fresh meat regularly to the garrisons and to do all the cooly work necessary for the rationing of these outposts (from Fort White) without payment or remuneration. Throughout the month of February and part of March I remained at Fort White working spies and informers and flashing the information to the several outposts, which now numbered eight. I was also busy arranging terms of surrender, interviewing rebels, and settling them down in large villages, and all promiscuous building was prohibited.

Karmlung, Chief of the Toklaings, now surrendered himself unconditionally, but as he promised to give in all his guns at once I did not imprison him. Later on, however, I found him obstructing instead of facilitating disarmament and I deported him to Burma. Nokatung headman of Shark, surrendered and, although he richly deserves the fate of Karmlung for his complicity in the rebellion, he has done such excellent service as guide and spy that I have had to pardon him.

At the commencement of March the Sagyilains and Vöklas, who had up to this time worked so well, struck, and for two days it seemed as if they would join cause with the rebels. The rebels had now surrendered a fair number of guns, which the Sagyilains considered sufficient, and they begged in vain that the post be withdrawn and that cultivation be permitted; they felt very bitter about not being allowed to cultivate as the first showers were falling and it was most important for them to get their seed in the ground, which was not yet even properly prepared owing to the presence of the troops. We held a trump card by preventing all cultivation, as it was too late in the season for

the people to migrate and prepare fresh land, and the people were bound to comply with orders or run out of food during the rains.

On 8th March I summoned a meeting of Siyin Chins at old Fort White.

Captain Presgrave, Captain Keary, and I then met and discussed the situation, and it appeared that the people only wanted encouraging to continue surrendering guns, and that although guns were coming in steadily we were not getting hold of the rebel leaders and outlaws, and it was considered all important to effect their capture.

I addressed the Chins, promising the Toklaings a village-site as soon as a certain quantity of their guns were surrendered, and I fixed the fines of Mobingyi and Darbôn for harbouring rebels, and I gave Vökla, Naripi, and Sagyilain the choice of surrendering two outlaws or in default to be fined one gun for every house in their villages. I promised the withdrawal of the outposts and license to cultivate immediately on terms being complied with. Now the time had come to deal with those Tashon border villages who refused to do cooly work for us at the outbreak of the rebellion. I fined them 70 guns for disobedience of orders and for harbouring rebels, in addition to 12 guns on account of three Loibwel men having accompanied the Siyins on the Toungu raid.

Captain Taylor, who had been pursuing the Mòntòk rebels even into Tashon territory, had now completely crippled them, and they now begged for pardon, and the three villages consisting of 61 households surrendered 63 guns, and with the exception of two outlaws they have all collected and settled down in the new Siyin village, Tavak, together with the Nashwin and Koset people who had also surrendered the majority of their guns. Tavak is immediately below Fort White on the western slope of the range, and the inhabitants are at once removed from their former dangerous proximity to the plains of Burma and are now within hail of Fort White, thus supplying that need of a village near the post which had so long been felt.

The terms of surrender for the Siyins as regards disarmament, the surrender of rebel leaders, the handing up of the hostages, the payment of compensation, &c., were identical in character to those framed for the Nwengals, but there was one extra clause added, namely, that all the petty and scattered hamlets should amalgamate and be settled down in clans in a few large villages, each clan owning a separate village and occupying, where convenient, those sites which they occupied before the expedition of 1888-89. At the time of writing this report seven villages only exist instead of the 18 villages which existed before the rebellion. At the middle of February all the rebel Siyin villages were surrendering guns or showing signs of submission with the exception of Pimpi. This community had now increased to treble its former size and become the refuge of all who still held out.

The Pimpi garrison had lost sight of the rebels altogether and the surrendered Siyins were afraid of spying until, eventually, Nokataung, the Toklaing, was persuaded to find out the hiding-place of the rebels. He remained two days in their village and then returned and guided a column to it with the result that the village was destroyed for the third time, much live-stock captured, and the rebels dispersed. An outpost was placed at the new village and the garrison scoured the country until the 1st May. The Pimpi rebels had now been driven west of Yazagyo from the former village west of Kalemyo.

On returning from this expedition I learnt that Captain Keary at Sagyilain had collected the full fine in guns from Mobingyi and Darbôn. More pressure was now put on the Sagyilain Chief,¹ with the result that he arrested and handed up the Tartan rebel Chief Dolyin, and paid 55 guns (90 houses) in default of arresting the other outlaw.

Lieutenant Barnett at Vökla now disarmed Vökla and Naripi.

The border Tashon villages now procrastinated and I marched to Sagyilain and joined Captain Keary, but the arrest of the headmen and the threat of an impending visit saved us this trip, and the Tashon fine now increased to 114 guns was paid up in full.

It will be noticed that disarmament was now spreading and that the friendly Siyins and the border Tashons had been partially disarmed, Sagyilain and Vökla posts were now withdrawn and the Chins resumed cultivation.

Nokataung for his good services was permitted to gather the clan (which since 1888 had lived in Pomba, Shark, and Yo) and found a new village at Toklaing, the site of the village of their forefathers and of themselves until 1888. The rebels throughout were

¹ Dolyin died in Myingyan jail in August 1894.

very much scattered, and it was no easy task to gather them together or indeed to find their hiding-places; consequently, as I have shown, the Sagyilains and Voklas were prevented from cultivating until they had induced or forced the Toklaings into surrender; then the Toklaings were forbidden to build a village until they brought in the Tunpa and Laibon people, and finally the Tunpa and Laibon people were used to work the surrender of Tannwe, Shwimpi, and Pimpi, the only villages which remained unaccounted for.

The General Officer Commanding returned to the plains on 27th March and the troops now began to leave the hills. Pimpi commenced surrendering guns at the end of March, and the time had come to punish those Sokte villages which had furnished false information on the 17th November when Tiddim was attacked and also Saiyan and Chin Nwe for not cutting the rope bridge in October; so I left Fort White for Tiddim and together with Lieutenant Sutton and 50 men I proceeded to Lawso; in four days' time I returned to Tiddim with 133 guns, leaving Lieutenant Sutton to complete the work. Saiyan and Chin Nwe eventually paid 100 guns for their disobedience, and the surrounding villages contributed one gun for every house they contained. At Tiddim I joined Captain Keary and an escort and crossing the river marched to Mwial and pitched camp. This formerly friendly village together with the neighbouring village of Laitui had now much to answer for; here were living refugees from Dimlo, Dimpi, Yon, and Phunum in the Siyin tract, and Kaptyal refugees who had escaped from Mr. Fowler.

Before leaving Tiddim I called up Howchinkup and discussed the question of disarming his tribe. I had been much impressed with the ready manner in which the Soktes had brought in their guns, and this I felt certain was caused by the example that had been made of the Siyins, and I argued that if the Soktes were so impressed then their relations, the Kanhowes, would be equally so, and I informed Howchinkup that he had been a loyal Chief throughout the campaign and that it was not intended to punish his people, but that his tribe is an unruly one, often disobeying his orders, and I advised him to disarm all his outlying villages now whilst they were frightened, and that this action would have the effect of rendering his people incapable of resisting his orders in the future, and would at the same time be an act deserving the approval of Government. Howchinkup assented and Lieutenant Sutton undertook to assist him during my absence. There are 487 houses in the Kanhow tribe and up to the date of writing this report Howchinkup has himself surrendered 200 guns (exclusive of 83 guns which were collected by officers) and the cost to the State of collecting these guns is *nil*.

I took with me to the Nwengal side a large band of influential Siyins and Soktes to gather the scattered rebels and collect their guns, and to the Sagyilain and Mobingyi Chiefs I entrusted the task of tracking down the arch-rebel Twum Tong, who was known to be in hiding near Mwial village, and being fed and furnished with information of our movements by his son-in-law Pawkai, the son of the Mwial headman.

I must now go back to the end of January, the time when Captain Caulfeild and Mr. Fowler were left to operate against the Nwengals after the withdrawal of the Nwengal column.

The end of January and the beginning of February were spent chiefly in searching for rebel camps and in destroying all food-supplies and granaries, and the policy was to encourage Shwungzan village and to operate sternly against the inhabitants of all other villages. Shwungzan was thus encouraged to surrender guns, an example followed by Shelphe and Mwelyaul, and with these three villages steadily laying down their arms and with the vicinity of Kaptyal thoroughly secured, Captain Caulfeild and Mr. Fowler started on more distant expeditions. They crossed the Imbukklang into the Whenoh country and attacked and destroyed the new Nwengal settlements and arrested several of the leading Whenoh Chiefs on a charge of sympathizing with the rebellion and harbouring rebel refugees.

These Chiefs inhabit the northern portion of that border tract which from time to time has raided into Lushai land, and having now a favourable opportunity of disarming the tract, the Chiefs were held to ransom in guns, and all have now returned to their villages with the exception of one, whom I have deported to Burma on account of his villagers having murdered four Burman deserters from the Lushai Relief Column in May 1892.¹ Twice did troops cross the Imbukklang, six times was Hele visited and destroyed, twice was Mwial visited, whilst the nearer villages and their environs were regularly patrolled. As the heat increased the continuous marching and patrolling became very

¹ Dolyin, Chief of Punte, was released in August 1893 and has returned to his village.

irksome, especially as the enemy was seldom encountered, but the work continued unflaggingly, the troops being encouraged by the steady surrender of guns which during the month of March became of daily occurrence.

Shwumpi, Hele, and Kaptyal commenced to surrender guns during the beginning of April, but the people were so scattered that it was most difficult to collect them even after they had surrendered their guns as they represented, with truth, that they had now sown their crops in isolated places, and it was already too late in the year to return to their villages and sow afresh. And thus when I returned to the Nwengal country in April, I found the troops steadily patrolling and searching the jungles, the Chins slowly surrendering their guns, Mr. Fowler busy gathering the refugees and settling them down when possible in their former villages. I remained nearly a month in the Nwengal country and collected 96 guns, but the most satisfactory result of this trip was that Twum Tong¹ surrendered himself with a Government rifle, and Paw Dal,² the leader of the Nwengals in the attack on the Myoök's escort on 9th October, was arrested. Mr. Fowler at this time also arrested Kanhaw, the Chief of Hele, and Kitwerk, who shot two sepoys on 9th October. Thus the four most dangerous Nwengals, including the author and proposer of the rebellion, fell into our hands, being either delivered up by friends or yielding to their advice to surrender themselves and thus escape death by starvation and malaria in the jungles.

Meanwhile Howchinkup was surrendering the Kanhow guns very satisfactorily to Lieutenant Sutton at Tiddim, and Captain Presgrave at Fort White was still squeezing a few guns out of the Siyins. I returned to Tiddim at the beginning of May, and at this time the Mōntōk, Anngu, and Pimpi posts were withdrawn and active operations ceased.

Mr. Tuck now returned from the Southern Chin Hills, and was entrusted with the work of collecting the few remaining Siyin guns.

At Tiddim I collected all the remaining Sokte guns, and a further fine on Wunkathe village for harbouring rebels. The time had now come to withdraw the Kaptyal posts as the river was rising rapidly. Before leaving, however, a party of troops marched south and disarmed one Yahow and four Tashon-Nwengal villages, through no fault of the people, but in order to push disarmament as far as possible this year, and whilst the people were in a condition to accept it. The Nwengal garrison withdrew to Tiddim on 11th May.

I now sent for the Thados and Yos, the Chin tribes lying north of the Kanhows, which extend round the Manipur plain into Cachar, being known there as Kukis. These people I informed that as they considered themselves under the administration of Burma they must hand in a portion of their guns, as it was considered that they, like the Kanhows, possessed more than was necessary for legitimate sporting purposes and, as they had already witnessed, their flintlocks were neither of use to contend against the Martini-Henry of the Government nor were they required to resist raids of the Yahows and Whenohs, as these tribes no longer dared to prey on them. The Thados and Yos will doubtless surrender the guns as directed³ and I anticipate that they will be reduced to the comparatively harmless condition of the Kanhows without our having to use force of arms.

And now the troops required for the expedition have left the hills, the rains have more than commenced, and the operations may be considered as terminated, so I close this report by analyzing the results of the expedition.

Up to the date of writing 1,647⁴ guns have been captured and surrendered in the Northern Chin Hills. Of this number 314 have been surrendered by the Siyins and 401 by the Nwengals, whilst 107 still remain to be collected from the rebel Siyins and 268 from the rebel Nwengals. The Soktes paid their fines in full, and no more guns will be demanded from the Kanhows. Several villages, as has been shown in this report, although not actually implicated in the rebellion, nevertheless deserved punishment for their sympathy with the rebels, whilst others, like the Kanhows, were disarmed because it is advisable to disarm all Chins and those particular clans were during the expedition more inclined to part with their guns than they ever will be again. Of the 1,647 guns 1,032 have been

¹ Twum Tong died in Kindat Jail in December 1893.

² Paw Dal died in Kindat Jail in January 1894.

³ These tribes were partially disarmed during the next season.

⁴ I have estimated that the Siyins at the commencement of the rebellion possessed a third more guns than houses, whilst the Soktes, Kanhows, and Nwengals possessed on an

surrendered on the left bank of Nankathè river, bordering on Burma, whilst 613 guns have been withdrawn from the right bank of the river. The Siyins and some of the Sokte villages were able to pay the fine of one gun a house from their supply, but there were Sokte and Nwengal villages perfectly unable to pay up the demand, which necessitated purchasing from alien tribes, and I have received guns on account of such villages which had been brought from the Manipur border and from the distant Whenoh villages on the Southern Lushai border.

average 75 guns per 100 houses. In the schedule below I show the number of houses side by side with the number of guns withdrawn.

No.	Village.	Number of houses.	Guns withdrawn.	Guns still due.	Remarks.
SIYIN TRIBE.					
1	Mòntòk ...	45	45	...	} Shwimpi, a settlement of Mòntòk.
2	Shwimpi ...	16	18	...	
3	Koset ...	13	7	6	
4	Nashwin ...	35	36	...	
5	Pimpi ...	52	8	44	
6	Laibòn ...	17	12	5	
7	Tunpa ...	10	10	...	
8	Pomba ...	33	33	...	
9	Shark ...	10	4	6	
10	Yo ...	30	21	9	
11	Tannwè ...	10	...	10	
12	Shwimpi ...	20	...	20	
13	Phunum ...	8	11	...	
14	Koli ...	2	2	...	
15	Yòn ...	12	5	7	
16	Tartan ...	4	5	...	} These villages did not rebel.
17	Vòkla ...	65	42	...	
18	Naripi ...	90	55	...	
	Sagyilain ...	90	55	...	Did not rebel.
	Total ...	472	314	107	
SOKTE TRIBE.					
1	Mobingyi ...	120	58	...	} These villages did not rebel.
2	Darbòn ...	100	40	...	
3	Bwin ...			...
4	Yanyaul ...	115	77	...	
5	Wunkathe ...			...
6	Saiyan ...	102	92	...	} Rebels.
7	Chin Nwe ...			...
8	Dimpi ...	20	20	...	
9	Dimio ...	35	36	...	
	Total ...	492	323	...	

Of the eight Snider rifles, one Martini-Henry rifle, one double-barrelled gun, and one revolver carried off on 9th October by the Chins, seven Snider rifles, (1) the Martini-Henry rifle, and the double-barrelled gun have been recovered, and but one rifle and the revolver (3) remain in the hands of the Chins.

No.	Village.	Number of houses.	Guns withdrawn.	Guns still due.	Remarks		
KANHOWS.							
1	Losow ...	25	26	} Nil.	(1) Losow } were fined for (2) Larmyan } misbehaviour. (3) Phailian } (4) Wallawun } The remaining villages were disarmed on account of no fault of theirs.		
2	Larmyan ...	42	43				
3	Phailian ...	6	6				
4	Ningnon ...	18	6				
5	Kwunum ...	17	16				
6	Lilo ...	15	5				
7	Wallawun ...	13	13				
8	Lilui ...	19	10				
9	Numni ...	30	28				
10	Himwell ...	8	7				
11	Pitu ...	18	14				
12	Salzan ...	30	25				
13	Puntong ...	2	1				
14	Howpi ...	30	25				
15	Qwunum ...	20	3				
16	Shelshi ...	11	3				
17	Twelmu ...	8	5				
18	Twitum ...	28	19				
19	Ngorn ...	3	3				
20	Wangli ...	4	2				
21	Kunal ...	9	5				
22	Tunzan ...	100	14				
23	Lontak ...	6	4				
24	Sarak ...	} 25	}				
25	Kwunkum ...						
Total ...		487	283	Nil.			
SOKTE NWENGALS.							
1	Mwial ...	60	50	...	} Did not rebel.		
2	Laitui ...	70	50	...			
3	Puyan ...	30	20	...			
4	Shelpe ...	40	45	...			
5	Heanorn ...	13	4	9	} Rebelled.		
6	Mwelyaul ...	30	30	...			
7	Kaptyal ...	208	51	149			
8	Shwungzan ...	70	56	4			
9	Hele ...	131	47	84	} Fined sixty guns.		
10	Shwumpi ...	70	48	22			
Total ...		714	401	268			

Of the six captives raided from TOUNGU village in the Kale valley, five have been recovered and returned to their homes and the sixth, an old woman, is reported to be dead, which I believe to be true.

Of the three Snider (2) rifles taken from the Upper Chindwin Police Battalion at Nansaungbu, two have been recovered and returned to Kindat.

Two hostages have been furnished by each of the following villages for their good behaviour :—

Nwengal country	...	{ Shwungzan. Shwumpi.
Siyin	...	{ Syin clan. Bweman clan. Toklaing clan.
Soktes	...	{ Wunkathe. Mobingyi.

Note.—The whole of the Siyin tribe is represented except the Sagyilain clan, from which hostages are not required, and the hostages from Wunkathe and Mobingyi represent the whole of the Sokte tribe.

No.	Village.	Number of houses.	Guns withdrawn.	Guns still due.	Remarks.
TASHON TRIBE.					
1	Loibwell, Shinshi, and other border villages.	350	114	<i>Nil.</i>	
	Total ...	350	114	<i>Nil.</i>	
TASHON NWENGALS.					
1	Kapwul ...	80	60	...	
2	Siron ...	120	26	...	
3	Samyaul ...	21	10	...	
4	Kodac ...	30	6	...	
	Total ...	251	102	...	
WHENOH TRIBE.					
1	Shelbum ...	50	10	...	
2	Seyat ...	50	50	...	
3	Punte ...	20	10	...	
	Total ...	120	70	...	
YAHOW TRIBE.					
1	Twili ...	20	20	...	
2	Botung ...	45	20	...	
	Total ...	65	40	...	

(1), (2), (3) The two rifles and the revolver were recovered the following open season.

The following village has paid Rs. 50 as compensation for the Toungu raid, Tavak ; the other villages implicated will be required to pay the fine during the rains.

The following villages have paid Rs. 30 each to be credited to the estates of those persons murdered on 9th October, and those villages which have not as yet paid will be required to do so during the rains or at latest during next cold weather :—

- | | | |
|---------------|--|----------------|
| (1) Tavak. | \| | (3) Shelpe. |
| (2) Mwelyaul. | \| | (4) Shwungzan. |
| (5) Shwumpi. | | |

The clearing of jungle on all main roads has been deferred, as it has been necessary to allow the surrendered rebels to first re-build villages and cultivate and sow their crops, but this work will be enforced in due course.

The following outlaws and rebel leaders have been deported to Burma :—

No.	Name of outlaw.	Tribe.	Short account of offence.
1	Karmlung ...	Siyin ...	This man is Chief of the Toklaing clan of the Siyin tribe and headman of Pomba, where the Myoök was murdered.
2	Dolyin ...	Do. ...	Chief of Tarian and an outlaw of three years standing ; a desperate character and implicated in the murder of the Myoök.
3	Kanchim ...	Do. ...	Brother of Dolyin, a rebel and habitual thief ; has continually stolen cattle from the plains and mules in the hills.
4	Tomngo ...	Do. ...	The head policeman who turned his rifle against the troops on 9th October.
5	Twum Tong	Sokte ...	The Nwengal Chief of Kaptyal, prime mover in and promoter of the rebellion in 1892. Murderer of a Burman in April 1892 and implicated in the attack on Botung, May 1892.
6	Paw Dal ...	Do. ...	Twum Tong's son and leader of the Nwengals on 9th October in the attack on the troops, when he shot and decapitated a sepoy.
7	Kitwerk ...	Do. ...	A Nwengal of Kaptyal, who killed two sepoys and took two rifles on 9th October, also accused of murdering a Gurkha woman on 1st September 1892 at Tiddim.
8	Kanhaw ...	Do. ...	Chief of Hele, one of the prime-movers in the rebellion and a man of great influence.
9	Bonar ...	Do. ...	Headman of the Nwengal village of Mwelyaul, implicated in rebellion and accompanied the ambuscading party on 9th October.
10	Dolyin ...	Yahow ...	Headman of Punte, whose villagers murdered four Burman coolies in May 1892.

Besides these ten outlaws the following rebels have surrendered and have been pardoned on account of valuable services rendered to Government during the expedition :—

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|
| (1) Howkatung, Chief of Shwungzan. | \| | (3) Pow Kone, Headman of Shelpe. |
| (2) Mang In, Chief of Shwumpi. | \| | (4) Nokatung, Headman of Shark. |

Also Pow Chin, son of Howkatung, who was declared an outlaw, has now been accepted as a hostage for the future good behaviour of Shwungzan.

There are naturally some few rebels and outlaws still unaccounted for, who are now scattered and living in hiding ; the principal of these are Kuppow, Chief of the

Siyin cian, and Kikarm, his son; and I am sanguine of accounting for both now that they have fled with a following of only some ten men and are being watched by our spies.

In conclusion I am able to report that the Siyins and Nwengals have received very severe punishment for their dastardly outrage on 9th October and that the great majority of the rebel guns have been withdrawn, whilst several of the most dangerous characters have been deported to Burma.

The Pimpi rebels and also some other Siyin outlaws remain unaccounted for so far, but as they are living as refugees in the jungle I trust to see the majority surrender during the rains, and those who do not should be accounted for next open season by two small garrisons placed west of Yazagyo and west of Ateywa respectively. The power of these rebels for any combined hostility is broken, and the very worst that they can do is to occasionally murder a straggler and steal buffaloes in the plains, and with vigilance and care such annoyances can usually be prevented.

The Assistant Political Officer will continue the work of disarmament and will arrest, if possible, the remaining outlaws and encourage the remaining rebels to lay down their arms. In this work he will be assisted by the friendly Chins, who have during the last few weeks done yeoman's service.

The Siyin clan is now collected (with the exception of the majority of the Pimpi rebels) and the people are settled down in large villages, far from the plains, and on no account will the Assistant Political Officer allow new villages to be built or hamlets to become detached from the main villages.

Taking all matters into consideration, I now think that the Siyin-Nwengal rebellion was the very best thing that could have happened for the future peace of the Northern Hills and the Kale valley. I now only regret that it cost us the life of Myoök Maung Tun Win and the lives of so many soldiers.¹

All through this report I have borne in mind that the military operations were for a large portion of the expedition personally conducted by a very senior Military Officer, Brigadier-General Palmer, C.B., and I have therefore refrained from encroaching on what will form the subject of his despatches. I must, however, if only to acquit myself of the charge of egotism in my report on the expedition, place it on record that the great results which have been achieved, in what is probably the most lengthy season's work which has ever been known in the Assam chain of mountains (9th October 1892—24th May 1893) reflect the highest credit on the troops engaged.

No one realizes more than I do that it is one thing to plan and another to carry out those plans, and that the policy and plans were loyally carried out is exemplified by the result of the partial disarmament of a mountainous tract, fully 80 miles in length and 40 in breadth (see accompanying map), and peopled by an off-shoot of the great Kuki tribe and consequently cousins to the warlike Angamis and turbulent Naga tribes.

No one is more gratified than I am at the stand the 1st Burma Rifles made over their wounded comrades on 9th October, and no one has exceeded me in the admiration I felt during October and November for the steady manner in which the troops faced ambush after ambush throughout long and depressing marches, when men were continually shot by the unseen foe, and when there was no possible hope of getting at him at close quarters. And even after the combined opposition of the enemy was broken, it needed the most faithful determination on the part of officers and men to carry out those arduous and unexciting duties, which the tactics of the enemy forced us to adopt in order to starve him into submission."

At the close of the operations Captain Presgrave remained in command of the Northern Chin Hills and Mr. Fowler was in political charge. The 1st Burma Rifles formed the garrison of the Northern Chin Hills, the headquarters of which were now moved from Fort White to Tiddim.

Close of the operations.

¹ The casualty roll, including all who were killed and wounded by the Northern Chins during the campaign, exceeded 70 and includes Myoök Maung Tun Win killed, Lieutenant Geoghegan, 6th Burma Battalion, and the Subadar-Major, 1st Burma Battalion, wounded.

Events in the Southern hills.

With all this work going in the Northern Hills it was necessary to confine operations in the south to the narrowest possible limit.

All the southern tribes had behaved well, with the exception of the Klangklangs, who had totally disregarded that part of the terms accepted by them in the previous year, which provided for the arrest of Lalwe if he entered their territory. In fact, as soon as the troops left the country Lalwe returned, and such was his influence that not only did he live unmolested in Klangklang, but he continued to levy tribute on his portion of the tribe.

The villages most friendly to Lalwe and from which he was likely to receive most assistance were Klangklang, Klangrwa, Hripi, and Tao. It was decided to make these villages pay a fine of 50 guns for their breach of faith, failing the surrender of Lalwe, before the 17th March, and, in order to enforce compliance, two guns and 100 British troops were despatched from the north. This force, marching through the Tashon country, arrived at Haka on the 1st April. In the meantime the Klangklangs had been induced by Mr. Tuck, Assistant Political Officer, who was in political charge of this operation, to surrender 30 of the 50 guns, but the villagers of Tao and Hripi still refused to pay the fines. It was arranged that the column should leave Haka on the 3rd April. A difficulty about transport now arose, for the Darjeeling cooly corps refused to go into the Klangklang tract, and all efforts to induce or force them to obey orders failed. It was, therefore, necessary to obtain Chin coolies, and to this end Mr. Tuck with 100 rifles under Captain Beale, Norfolk Regiment, marched to Klangklang with mule transport. Reaching that village on the 4th April, they compelled the Chief to send coolies into Haka to bring on the remainder of the column.

On the 6th the column was massed at Klangklang, Tao village surrendered its guns, Klangrwa was fined for delay in supplying coolies, and the greater portion of the Klangklang tribute was paid in. Leaving a covering party at Klangklang, the guns and 125 rifles pushed on to Hripi, occupying that village on the 8th. As a punishment for dragging troops to their village, the people were made to build shelters for, and to feed, the column, the original fine of two guns was increased to 15, and a further fine of Rs. 100 inflicted. These fines were realized without delay and next day the column started on its return march with free transport supplied by Hripi. The object of the column had thus been fully carried out, the full fine of 50 guns increased to 55 guns, Rs. 210 in cash and live-stock to the value of Rs. 150 had been levied, while the full tribute of the tribe was collected. Chiefs of some 15 villages were interviewed, advised, and admonished; and that the guns and so large a number of troops could be spared from the Northern Hills had shown the Hakas, Yokwas, and Tashons, as well as the Klangklangs, not only that the Siyins and Nwengals were beaten, but also that we had a sufficient force in the hills to deal with all the tribes.

The only other events of importance in the south were, first an attempt made by Mr. Tuck in September to arrest the Gangaw rebel Thègyi and next the hanging of Ay Lwe at Falam. Bo Thègyi was being harboured in the

Arrangements to
punish Lalwe's sup-
porters.

Punishment of the
Klangklangs.

Attempt to capture
Thègyi.

Kweshin country, some 50 miles from Falam. After several days' marching and a long night march his camp was surrounded and rushed, but Thè-gyi happened to be at a feast in Kalon village and so escaped arrest.

Ay Lwe, a Tashon Chin who had committed a murder near Hanta, was given up by the Falam Chiefs, tried, and convicted before the Political Officer and a tribunal of Chiefs.

Execution of Ay Lwe. The sentence being confirmed by the Local Government, he was hanged in Falam on the 8th February 1893, this being the first time a Chin has suffered the extreme penalty of the law.

The posts at Haka and Falam remained garrisoned by the 2nd Burma Battalion under the command of Major Howlett; Mr. C. E. Browne was in political charge at Falam and Mr. O'Donnell at Haka.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EVENTS OF 1893-94.

Organization of the administration. AFTER the cessation of the active operations of 1892-93, it was possible to reorganize the Chin Hills charge as was intended when Mr. Carey took over the Southern Hills, in addition to his own duties, from Lieutenant Macnabb in July 1892. In the interim Mr. Browne had been sent to Falam, relieving Mr. Tuck, who was now employed as Assistant to the Political Officer, whose time was almost entirely taken up with work in connection with the quelling of the rebellion, and who had found it impossible to put in force any regular system of administration. In 1892 Falam had been constituted both the Civil and Military headquarters, but the buildings were in a very backward state, and Colonel Corrie Bird, C.B., who had been appointed Colonel on the Staff Commanding the Chin Hills, when the Myingyan Military district was broken up, made his headquarters at Kalewa, thence directing military movements in the hills.

Later in the season the Political offices were moved from Haka and Tiddim to Falam, and the Political administration was placed on a more solid basis. The Political Officer now had four assistants with headquarters at Tiddim, Falam, and Haka. Mr. Fowler at Tiddim was placed in charge of the Siyin and Sokte tribes. Mr. Browne, who was shortly afterwards relieved by Mr. Biggwith, was posted to Falam in charge of the Tashons and their tributaries the Yahows and Whenohs, and Mr. Thruston at Haka, who had relieved Mr. O'Donnell, was in charge of the Haka, Klangklang, Yokwa, and the independent southern tribes. Mr. Tuck remained as assistant to Mr. Carey. The charges of Assistant Political Officers were now treated as subdivisions of a district, all reports, diaries, and accounts being submitted to the head office at Falam which, on a modified scale, was similar to a combined Deputy Commissioner's office and treasury.

Colonel Rolland relieved Colonel Corrie Bird in March 1894 and in January 1894 the 6th Burma Battalion, Major Keary, D.S.O., Commanding, took over the posts in the Southern Hills from the 2nd Burma Battalion.

The report on the administration of the Chin Hills from June 1893 to 31st May 1894, submitted by the Political Officer to the Government of Burma, gives in detail the events of the year, and an extract from Mr. Carey's report is, therefore, borrowed to continue this narrative.

" At the beginning of the year now under report the rains had just put a stop to the continuation of active operations against the Siyin and Nwengal-Sokte tribes, which had rebelled in October 1892 and which we had not quite settled with, although at this time the Nwengals had long ceased to offer resistance, whilst the few unaccounted for Siyin rebels sought rather to escape than to fight.

Position of affairs at the commencement of the year 1893-94. We had withdrawn 1,647 guns from the Northern Chins, we had recovered 11 out of the 14 rifles and firearms which had fallen into the hands of the rebels, we had arrested and deported 10 of the rebel leaders, and had collected the surrendered Siyin rebels into six villages instead of allowing them to live in the scattered groups of houses which formerly existed.

Considerable work yet remained to be accomplished—

- (1) A gang of 127 rebels still carried arms against us.
- (2) The most notorious Siyin Chiefs, Kuppow, Kaikam, Wumlyin, and Sumshun, were still at large.
- (3) One hundred and seven guns were still uncollected.
- (4) The greater part of the tribute for 1892-93 was unpaid.
- (5) The village roads had not been cleared of jungle, an undertaking which was accepted by the Siyins at the time of surrender.

The Nwengal-Sokte registers showed that five villages still owed us an aggregate of 268 guns; that roads had yet to be cleared of jungle; that the tribute for 1892-93 was still outstanding; and that certain fines in cash remained unpaid.

As regards the Kanhow clan the Chief and his clan were in favour, for not only had they not joined in the rebellion, but the Chief unaided by troops had assisted me to quietly withdraw 283 guns from his people.

The Thados, whose villages lie north of the Kanhows, were far removed from the disturbed tract and had behaved properly throughout the rebellion, but at the close of the season I instructed them to surrender their guns and I deputed Howchinkup, the Kanhow Chief, to collect the weapons and bring them in to Tiddim. The Thado disarmament had not commenced at the beginning of the year.

As regards the Tashons and their tributaries the year began on a mutually good understanding. It is true that I had at the close of 1892-93 to punish the border Tashons, Yahows, and Whenohs for sympathizing with Siyin and Nwengal refugees, but all accepted the withdrawal of 326 guns in a proper spirit of subordination.

The Hakas and Yokwas started the year with no outstandings either in fines or tribute against them.

The Klangklang tribe, it was remarked, although behaving with prudence, was feeling very sore at our determination to fine the tribe until Lalwe surrendered, and they keenly felt the loss of the 55 guns taken at the end of last season.

The communities south of Haka, commonly termed the independent Baungshes, had not been visited during the season and consequently that one-third of their tribute was outstanding was a fact that caused us no anxiety especially as the new assessment, being a greatly enhanced rate, had been enforced that year for the first time.

During the rains the Siyin rebels remained surprisingly quiet; twice only did two or three Siyins attempt to steal buffaloes from Burma, and on both occasions the Kale-Kabaw civil police recovered the few cattle stolen. On two occasions small parties of rebels crept into the

Tiddim post at night to thief, but on a rebel being shot dead by a sentry on the night of 24th July these thefts ceased.

It is a remarkable fact that, although a large gang of rebels existed in the north, no raid was committed on the plains, no men were killed or fired at on our lines of communication and not once was the telegraph wire cut. This immunity from crime is probably explained by the fact that the Siyin tribe thoroughly understood that the entire tribe would be held responsible for any and every crime committed within its limits, irrespective of the question as to whether the crime was committed by friendlies or rebels.

Whilst the Siyins remained passive, the Nwengals sent in assurances of their desire to submit to all our terms, but they did not send in their guns.

During the rains the Kanhows continued to live peaceably and quietly and the Chief busied himself with disarming the Thados, a task into which he entered with zeal as it was obviously to his interest to see his neighbour's armament reduced to the same level as his own.

The Thados surrendered their guns slowly and my plans were hampered by Manipuris who entered that tract and collected tribute on behalf of that State, our combined action being somewhat dangerous to the peace of the hills; however, the lesson taught to the Siyins had not been without its effect on the Thados, who eventually surrendered their guns quietly.

The Tashons behaved well all through the rain, but a dispute of a curious nature between their tributaries occurred which will be dealt with later on.

The Hakas, Yokwas, and independent Baungshes, within what may be termed the extreme limits of our sphere of influence, with the exception of Rawywa, behaved satisfactorily.

The Rawywa offence is dealt with further on.

With the sanction of the Local Government, Mônkhôn, who had been deported to Burma for over a year for firing on the troops in 1892¹ was ransomed by his village (Shurkwa) for 50 guns; a most satisfactory manner of disposing of prisoners.

On the same principle I received sanction from the Local Government to pardon Lalwe, the Klangklang rebel, on payment of 75 guns. We had already taken 205 guns from the Klangklangs for their offence committed in 1891, and I consider that our prestige is upheld, that Klangklang has repented, and that with 280 guns less than he could muster in 1891 Lalwe will be harmless. It is always unsatisfactory to have outlaws in one's district, even if they live quietly as Lalwe did, as they retard the advance of civilization because it is impossible to be on friendly terms with a tribe which harbours an outlaw.

On the occasion of His Excellency the Viceroy's visit to Burma in November 1893, I was invited to bring down a party of Chin Chiefs to Rangoon to be present. On 27th October I left Palam with a party of 49 Chin Chiefs and followers representing every tribe in my jurisdiction.² Unfortunately on the very day of my arrival in Rangoon cholera broke out amongst the Chins, and we had to forsake our comfortable quarters in cantonments for cholera camp, where we stayed until the disease spent itself and in which we had nine cases of cholera and eight deaths. In spite of our bad luck, the Chins saw processions, large bodies of troops, the shipping, trains, and shops, and in fact very much more than they could realize or understand.

His Excellency presented ten of the principal Chiefs with silver *das*, and out of my budget I provided numerous presents for all. The pleasure of the trip was, of course, marred and the expense greatly enhanced, but I am persuaded that its political effect, in spite of the cholera, has been thoroughly good. The suspicious and revengeful nature of the Chin, especially of the Haka, caused me some anxiety as to how the people would receive the news of the deaths of their Chiefs and relations. Great pains were taken to explain matters to all and by careful handling and the expenditure of Rs. 780 in gratuities and pensions, this very awkward turn of fortune was overcome, and at the date of writing

¹ The attack on Mr. Tuck and Lieutenant Passingham at Shurkwa in March 1892.

² List of Chins who visited Rangoon.

HAKAS.

Kolun.

* (1) Shwe Hlyen	...	...	Chief.
* (2) Lyen Mo	...	...	Do.
* (3) Na Pa	...	...	Do.
* (4) Yat Sum	...	...	Do.
(5) That Dwin	...	...	Do.
(6) Ra Yin	...	...	Policeman.
† (7) Tha Twe	...	...	Government interpreter.

Five followers (one†).

Kotarr.

(1) Ral Err	...	...	Chief.
† (2) Lyen Rwa	...	...	Policeman.
(3) Ran Dun	...	...	Do.

One follower.

* Signifies the recipients of silver *das* from His Excellency the Viceroy. ●

† Signifies died of cholera. The bones of Yat Sum, the Haka Chief, were exhumed, brought back to the hills, and buried near Haka in October 1894.

this report the incident is practically old history to all, except to those who receive pensions, who appear to look forward to pay day rather than back to our unfortunate experience in Rangoon.

On 20th July I submitted my suggestions to the Chief Secretary for the approaching season's operations, but, as the work to be done in the north necessitated the temporary drafting of additional troops to the Chin Hills, the whole question was held in abeyance until after the Viceroy had personally enquired into the necessity of the operations. On 21st

Hairon.

†(1) Lwen Seo ... Headman of village.

Minkin.

* (1) An Ngan ... Headman of village and
One follower.

List of Siyin Chins.

* (1) Mang Lon	...	...	Chief of Sagyilain.
* (2) Kyim Shun	...	...	Headman of Sagyilain
(3) Maung Pow	...	...	Sagyilain.
(4) Ku How	...	...	Do.
(5) Nokataung	...	...	Toklaing Chief.
(6) Tang Shwung	...	...	Toklaing.
(7) Tum Ngo	...	...	Do.
(8) Shin Karm	...	...	Siyin, Terak village.

Sokte Chins.

* (1) Lam Pow	...	...	Mobingyi.
(2) Twum Twum	...	...	Do.
(3) Shin Karm	...	...	Headman of Losow.
(4) Kai Wum	...	...	Headman of Wunkathe.
(5) Twel Neen	...	...	Headman of Saiyan.
(6) Be Nar	...	...	Mwelyaul.

Kanhows.

* (1) Put Wum of Tunzan.
(2) Karm Tut of Lailo.
(3) Kaul Gin of Tuzun.

Falam.

* (1) Tat Pyee	...	...	Councilman.
* (2) Bwemon	...	...	Small Chief.
* (3) Ya Kwè	...	...	Do.
(4) Kin Shan	...	...	Do.
(5) To Lyin	...	...	Do.
(6) Sulyin Tan	...	...	Do.
(7) No Err	...	...	Do.

Four followers (onet).

Ralorn.

† (1) Tai Kyil	Chief.
† (2) Mon Sin.	
	Total	...	14.
	GRAND TOTAL	...	49 Chins.

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* Signifies the recipients of silver das from His Majesty the Viceroy.

† Signifies died of cholera.

November at Government House, Rangoon, the proposed operations and the Chin policy in general were discussed and His Excellency, after hearing the facts of the case, sanctioned the following programme and authorized a temporary addition of 350 rifles to the garrison of the Northern Hills :—

- (1) An expedition to subdue the remaining Siyin rebels commonly called the Pimpi rebels.
- (2) A tour through the Nwengal tract to complete the disarmament of that community and to collect arrears of tribute and fines.
- (3) The furnishing, to the Political Officer, of an escort whilst engaged in demarcating the border between the Chin Hills and the State of Manipur.

The Local Government expressed a hope that the cost of carrying out the above mentioned programme would not exceed Rs. 48,000, and gave a promise that it should not be more than one lakh of rupees.

In addition to the programme sanctioned for the Northern Hills the Local Government sanctioned, without any addition to the garrison, the following tours in the south :—

- (1) A party of 150 rifles to accompany Mr. H. N. Tuck, Assistant Political Officer, to the Baungshe country to settle the Naring-Rawywa feud, to collect fines and outstanding tribute from various villages, and to settle various inter-tribal disputes.
- (2) An escort of 150 rifles to accompany Mr. Tuck to Klangklang (unless in the meanwhile Lalwe should surrender) to fine that tribe in guns.
- (3) An escort to accompany the Assistant Political Officer, Falam, into the Yahow country, with the object of settling an inter-tribal dispute which threatened to result in serious consequences.

Rupees 6,000 was sanctioned for the expenses of the Baungshe trip, Rs. 2,000 for the Klangklang trip, and Rs. 2,000 for the Yahow tour.

The six operations in detail are described below—

(1) *The Chin Hills-Manipur Boundary Commission.*

My report, which I submitted as the Burma Boundary Commissioner to the Chief Secretary, fully sets forth the history of the border for the past 60 years, the reasons which have necessitated its demarcation, the respective views held by Burma and Assam on the subject in addition to describing the actual work done, the line now chosen and the agreement arrived at.

I will not under the circumstances enlarge in this report on what has already formed the subject of a lengthy communication to the Local Government, which has received due notice. I was engaged on the Boundary Commission from 18th January to 12th March.

(2) *The Operations against Siyin Rebels.*

As already remarked, it was not until the visit of the Viceroy to Burma that the extra troops were sanctioned for the Northern Chin Hills and consequently the Pimpi operations could not be commenced as early as they should have been, as the garrison weakened by the absence of men on furlough was unable to take the field without reinforcements.

The rebels at this time amounted to 127 men fully armed with their families; they all belonged to the Siyin and Toklaing clans, formerly occupying the villages of Shwimpi, Pimpi, Tannwe, Phunum, and Pomba; they were the only rebels who had not been coerced into surrender last year.

Major (then Captain) Presgrave, Commanding the Northern Chin Hills, now (21st December) commenced work by advancing into the rebel tract in three parties of 75 rifles each; the parties severally starting from Fort White, No. 3 Stockade, and No. 2 Stockade. These parties scoured the country, but without success, for, although they found traces of the existence of the rebels, they were unable to come up with them as the rebels had elected to hide in the dense jungles, hoping that these tactics would sicken us into retiring and into leaving them in peace.

Finding that the rebels were not to be disposed of by a *coup-de-main*, two outposts were placed in strategical positions; these were stored with rations and, with the enemy within striking distance, the sepoys emerged from these posts in small parties carrying their blankets and rations themselves, to scour the mountains and to track down the rebels, in

exactly the same way as game is hunted, following up and keeping on the tracks. I wish to particularly emphasize the fact that the 1st Burma Rifles carried not only their blankets, but also at times as many as five days' rations on their backs. Such behaviour promised success at the onset, for not only were the troops, unhampered by a cumbersome cooly corps, that drag to pace, able to march swiftly among the nullahs and dense jungle coming upon the enemy from the quarter least expected, but the Chins, unable to keep in touch with the movements of these little parties, had to suffer themselves to be frequently surprised. Moreover, it should not escape notice that with every man as his own cooly the cost of an expedition is very materially diminished.

After having seen the outposts, Thandren and Anngo, in position, Major Presgrave and Mr. Fowler returned to Tiddim, the former to superintend the various operations, the latter to accompany a party of the 5th Burma Battalion which was sent to the extreme north of the rebel tract to prevent the rebels settling down out of the reach of Lieutenant Sutton, who was now commanding the troops at Thandern. With matters at this stage I had to leave the Siyin country to attend the Boundary Commission. Shortly afterwards Mr. Fowler, who was selected to conduct the Nwengal tour, was relieved in the rebel tract by Mr. F. H. Biggwithier, who now reported his arrival in the Chin Hills.

The months of January and February saw Lieutenant Sutton searching the country from the plains of Burma to the Letha range, and there was no nook or corner which escaped the keen search of the Gurkha who, when once he found a track, followed it to the end.

Such work had but one possible result; the rebels had either to fly or stay and be shot.

In spite of their attempts to avoid them, six skirmishes were forced upon the rebels in these two months, in which several rebels were killed, arms captured, and prisoners taken. Moreover, Lieutenant Sutton did not forget that rebels cannot hold out without food and he never ceased to search for and destroy all grain stores, at which work his men were particularly clever. In these skirmishes with the enemy we did not escape entirely as Subadar Jubber Singh Tapa, of the 1st Burma Rifles, was shot dead on 17th February and a rifleman of the same regiment was wounded a week later.

Lieutenant Sutton's efforts were meanwhile being well seconded. Lieutenant Mockler in the north patrolled so earnestly that the Chins were unable to break in that direction, and Major Presgrave from Fort White and No. 3 Stockade continually pushed out parties to prevent the rebels settling down on the south. These parties on two occasions discovered villages, one at Laibôn and one at Mòntôk; both were destroyed. On 24th February the Gurkhas surprised the rebels in camp, killing and capturing several and the remainder, who proved to be Shwimpi and Tannwe Siyins, at once offered to surrender.

At this stage (14th March) I returned from the Boundary Commission and at once collected my regular gang of friendlies. From these I learnt that Lieutenant Sutton had killed some 20 rebels and that all who had not returned to their villages had escaped south and were now out of Lieutenant Sutton's reach. I also learnt that the rebels were procuring rice from Burma, and that they were being assisted with food, ammunition, and information by their relations, who were residing in the friendly villages of Tavak and Toklaing.

Major Presgrave then arranged to despatch troops to the position indicated by the friendlies, whilst I started for Tavak, having received sanction from the Chief Secretary to (i) stop the Siyin trade with Burma, (ii) deport the male relations of the rebels who were assisting them, (iii) bring pressure on the friendly villages.

Major Presgrave and I proceeded to Fort White, whence he despatched (27th April) Captain Murray and a force to the mountains west of Indin, whilst I arrested (3rd May) those nine Siyins whom I had learnt were the most active in assisting the rebels. I arrested Dok Taung, Chief of the Soktes, at the same time, not merely because one of his villagers belonged to the rebel gang and Dok Taung would not deliver him up, but also to incite the Soktes and Kanhowes to purchase his liberty by capturing the rebels.

The season was now far advanced and in spite of Lieutenant Sutton's work there were still 27 rebels, including all the Chiefs, at large, and these seemed determined to resist to the bitter end. Under the circumstances, it now appeared wise to withdraw the Nwengal party and to concentrate the entire available force to crush the rebels. There was now but little advantage in prolonging the Nwengal tour as Mr. Fowler had got nearly every gun left in that tract.

As soon as the Nwengal party was recalled Major Presgrave distributed the men so as to allow Captain Murray to work in three parties, and he also gave an escort to Mr. Fowler

and another to me. I moved to and made my headquarters at Tavak, whilst Mr. Fowler camped between the villages of Toklaing and Lope. We then set to work to collect the guns from those rebels who had fled from Lieutenant Sutton into the villages; we also made every effort to induce the rebels through their friends to surrender, but finding that the popular sympathy with the rebels outweighed all inducements and threats, I was compelled to adopt severer measures and all cultivation in the Siyin tract was stopped, the country being patrolled to enforce the order and the villages were fined heavily, whilst every Chief and man of importance in the country was made to follow and assist me in collecting guns and information. At this time much work had to be done to ration the various outposts and parties, to move camps, and to carry letters; all this work I made the Siyins do without pay, and furthermore, when not carrying loads, the villagers had to work on the roads and in building permanent outposts. During the next eleven days guns came in in a very satisfactory way, but in spite of inducements and pressure the rebels showed no signs of surrender, and I therefore changed my tactics. Leaving Mr. Fowler at Toklaing and a Subadar at Tavak to continue to prevent all cultivation, Lieutenant Orman and I returned to Fort White. Here we were joined by a gang of Sagyilain and Sokte friendlies armed with guns, whom I dressed in red puggaries and sent off to scout with orders to bring news to me at Captain Murray's camp, which I reached two days later. Captain Murray had been successful in finding the rebel camp, but unsuccessful in coming on the rebels, although Lieutenant Baldwin had tracked and chased them on one occasion to three different camps and finally lost them in the Tawyan tract of Tashon territory.

Mr. Tuck with 40 sepoy of the 6th Burma Battalion now left Falam and marched through the Tawyan country, but the rebels had not entered the Tashon territory to remain, and Mr. Tuck did not therefore find them. He, however, left Thègyi, a Burman outlaw (who had offered his services in return for a pardon), with a gang of Tashon friendlies to patrol that part of the country in case the rebels should again enter or try to hide in the Tawyan cultivations.

It was now decided to move Captain Murray's men in three parties and to place them in more advantageous positions, but before this could be done the Chin scouts sent me word that they had come up with and fired on the rebels, who were working north. Two parties of us then left to join the scouts, the first party of 21 rifles under a Jemadar, the second of 15 rifles with Lieutenant Orman and myself. At first we were led north to within 10 miles of Kalemoyo, and from there I sent telegrams to advise Lieutenant Sutton to close up on Fort White and to move out patrols from No. 3 Stockade. Our road then took us to Mòntòk, which we reached in a march of 20 miles. Here I got a note from Mr. Fowler telling me that the rebels had come and were stopping quite close to him and that one had actually surrendered. At Mòntòk I met several of the scouts, who informed me that the rebels had been tracked to Tavak village, and later on I received a message from the rebels, who, finding themselves hemmed in, offered to surrender.

I accepted, and on the 23rd April 23 out of 27 rebels came in and laid down their arms and also gave up the two Snider rifles and the late Myoók's revolver; these three weapons are the last of our arms in the hands of the Chins. The four unsundered rebels included the two most important Chiefs, Kuppow, Chief of the Siyins, and Kaikam, his notorious son, and as it was all-important to secure these Captain Murray and Lieutenant Sutton continued to search the country with unabated energy, whilst Mr. Fowler and I continued to bring pressure on the Siyin villages to force the people into handing them up.

I bound down the several villages in agreements to hand up the rebels, but both the Chins and I were disappointed for the time being as the rebels ran north into the tract which had recently been evacuated by Lieutenant Mockler and Mr. Biggwith on account of the rains.

I was, however, satisfied that the Soktes and Kanhows and the majority of the Siyins were now working in earnest as the Sagyilains had seized the Siyin cattle for suppressing information, the Kanhows had sent a large armed party to search for the rebels, and the Siyins had given me the names of all Kuppow's relatives in order that they might be deported. At this time the feelings of the people were as follows. The Soktes and Kanhows were anxious for the release of Dok Taung and I promised to release him in the event of my getting the rebels. The Sagyilains were tired of the struggle, and as the rebels were not related to them they were anxious for their surrender. The Siyins knew that, if the trade with the plains was not opened, they would in all probability starve during the rains, and the newly surrendered rebels, who had saved their lives, were anxious to preserve them even at the cost of those of their Chiefs and they joined common cause with the Sagyilains and Soktes.

In order to make matters as certain as possible, I arrested 10 more Siyins, in fact, all the remaining male relatives of the rebels, and these I sent to Kindat.

The coast was now clear for the friendlies to complete the work, and feeling that Kaikam would probably surrender more readily to Mr. Fowler than to me, whose life he had attempted two years before, I left the matter in Mr. Fowler's hands entirely.

The troops were during the first 10 days of May withdrawn from their various positions, except from Tavak, where Mr. Fowler made his headquarters.

I returned to Falam after an absence from my headquarters of seventeen weeks.

On 16th May I received a telegram from Mr. Fowler, reporting that Kuppow, Kaikam, and Mang Pome had surrendered themselves to him that afternoon with their guns. I instructed him to take them to Kindat jail himself and at once.

I telegraphed to and received sanction from the Chief Secretary to release all the relatives of Kaikam and Kuppow whom I had deported and also the Sokte Chief Dok Taung; I also received permission to re-open the trade between Burma and the Northern Chin Hills.

It has been a hard struggle to gain our object and severe measures have had to be adopted, but it must be remembered that the rebels might have surrendered had they wished to and the Siyins could have given them up or induced them to surrender long ago had they wished to do so.

The Siyin was determined and so were we, and the same result might have been accomplished without all this expense to us and all this suffering to them had they so wished it. They were determined to fight it out to the end, and, if privation is one of the chief causes of their final capitulation, they have but themselves to blame.

I wish to place on record that the successful issue of this operation is due in a great measure to the skill of Major Presgrave, who commanded the troops throughout the entire operation, and to the determination and energy displayed by Lieutenant Sutton and his detachment of the 1st Burma Rifles, who worked magnificently throughout.

(3) *The Nwengal Tour.*

On 10th February Captain Murray with three officers and 150 rifles of the 1st Burma Rifles and 6th Burma Battalion left Tiddim for the Nwengal tract accompanied by Mr. Fowler.

Mr. Fowler's object was to collect as many of the 268 outstanding guns as was possible, to realize fines, and to collect tribute for the past as well as for the coming year. Furthermore, Mr. Fowler was instructed to collect all the scattered refugees and to settle them down on the sites of their former villages, an arrangement advantageous at once to the people and to us. The trip proved uneventful, the Chins invariably obeying the Assistant Political Officer's every order, and Mr. Fowler's difficulties were solely in tracing out refugees who had fled the country.

Fifty Kaptyal refugees have taken shelter over 100 miles north in the Nwitè village Losao in Manipur territory, and I am only awaiting the nominal-rolls of these men to demand from Manipur the surrender of a gun from each household which has fled across her border. It is obviously impolitic for the Political Agent or myself to shelter or welcome each other's rebels or refugees, and in this case the guns have but to be demanded and they will be paid.

On one occasion Mr. Fowler in his search for refugees and guns crossed into the Whenoh tract and penetrated to the Lushai border at Punte. Here he was met by Do Lyin, the Whenoh Chief, who last year suffered a few months' imprisonment in Kindat jail for complicity in the murder of four Burman coolies, who deserted from the Burma column on the Lushai Relief March of 1892.

Do Lyin's behaviour is now entirely satisfactory, and I look on him as a valuable ally in this distant corner of my district. It appears that Koshil, a Whenoh village, is the village actually responsible for the murder of the four Burmans two years ago, and they have this year sent two guns to Mr. Fowler and begged for pardon. Mr. Fowler very properly replied that two guns was far too small a compensation, and whenever we may happen to be in that part of the country, we shall not forget that several guns are due to us from Koshil.

The Nwengal trip was cut short towards the end of the season as the troops were required to operate against the Siyin rebels. I, however, think that Mr. Fowler had practically withdrawn every gun that was still left in the tract (118), and that the remaining guns will have to be collected as a yearly fine of from 25 to 50 annually until the full fine is realized.

The number of guns demanded from the Nwengals, namely, one gun from each house, was in excess of the actual number possessed by the tribe; and it was not to be expected that the Nwengals would pay their fine as quickly as their better armed neighbours, the Siyins. It is satisfactory, however, to notice that the Nwengals have now surrendered 521 guns and that only 150 remain to be collected in the future.

(4) *The Baungshe Column.*

During the latter part of January and the whole of February a column of 150 rifles of the 2nd Burma Battalion, acting as an escort to Mr. Tuck, Assistant Political Officer, operated in the Baungshe country. The primary objects of the operations were to insist on compensation being paid for injuries done in inter-tribal raids, to settle several inter-village disputes which threatened to cause trouble in the future, and, where necessary, to enforce the payment of tribute. Amongst the first named was a particularly cruel and treacherous raid by the Rawywas, in which a minor Chief and three villagers of Naring had been captured and afterwards slaughtered in cold blood, and it was decided the Rawywas should be forced to pay substantial compensation to Naring and a fine of 50 guns to us as a punishment for breaking the peace; of the inter-village disputes those between Lungno and Londwa and between Aika and Lotaw concerning the right to cultivate certain hill tracts were the most important; and tribute amounting to Rs. 3,738 had become due.

The column, which was entirely dependent on Chin coolies for transport, left Haka on the 21st January and, marching through the prosperous villages in the loop of the Boinu, reached Naring, whence negotiations were opened with the Rawywas. Meanwhile the Rawywas were secretly preparing to defend their village. A Chin Political Interpreter and a guide, who were in advance of the column, were murdered within 5 miles of Rawywa and the roads to that village were found blocked and heavily stockaded. From the friendlies information was obtained of a road approaching Rawywa from the west, which was taken and which proved eminently satisfactory, for taken in flank, the Chins were forced to abandon their naturally strong and carefully fortified positions and the hastily deserted village was occupied without firing a shot. Mr. Tuck was able to get into communication at once with the enemy through his friendlies and the surrender of the actual murderers and of 100 guns was demanded. As these were not forthcoming, operations to enforce payment were undertaken, resulting in several skirmishes and the eventual surrender and capture of 56 guns and of the Chief and his son. Mr. Tuck found that 400 houses had been implicated and caused one house in every 10 to be destroyed.

Property, which at Chin valuation was worth Rs. 5,000, was handed over to Naring as compensation, and the Chief and his son are now held in custody pending the surrender of the actual murderers and the guns. Our losses were three friendlies wounded, while the Rawywas are reported to have lost three killed and five wounded.

From Rawywa Mr. Tuck crossed the Boipa range and visited the large and influential villages in that part of the country, eventually reaching Burma *via* Lotaw and Dongwar to Gangaw.

Except at Rawywa Mr. Tuck's orders were promptly obeyed and the work expected of the column was fully accomplished. Eighteen villages were visited and the Chiefs of more than 30 villages interviewed. Tribute in full was levied from all these villages, the total amount collected being over Rs. 3,000, and fines in guns for raiding and delay in the payment of tribute were realized from Lotaw, Shirkilai, and Tangaw, the total number of guns withdrawn being 82. The inter-village disputes previously referred to and several others were satisfactorily settled and much valuable information of the country and its communications was obtained. The troops and Mr. Tuck received the congratulations of the Chief Commissioner at the close of the operations.

(5) *The Klangklang negotiations.*

The negotiations with the Klangklang tribe for the surrender of Lalwe were continued during the rains, but it was not until Mr. Tuck's return from the Baungshe country at the beginning of March that anything definite could be done in the matter. At this time the feeling in Klangklang was one of extreme annoyance at the trouble Lalwe was causing to the tribe, but at the same time Lalwe's reputation was such that no one dared to interfere.

On the 10th March, after persuasion and advice had proved fruitless, the payment of the annual fine of 50 guns was demanded and 10 days fixed as the time in which it should be paid, and in case of default arrangements were made to advance a column on Klangklang on the 20th March.

However, the Klangklangs had just witnessed the downfall of Rawywa and were in no way inclined to risk the chances which a visit of troops might entail, and on the 20th, two hours before the column had been advertised to start, the Chiefs brought in 40 guns and before evening an increased fine of 52 guns had been paid and the Klangklang tribe had purchased the right to harbour Lalwe for another year.

Eventually, by working through Lalwe's relations and on the timidity of the Chiefs, Mr. Tuck was able to obtain a promise from Lalwe that he would surrender as soon as he had assured himself that the tribe would pay the further 25 guns necessary to save him from being deported. Soon after Lalwe fell sick and it was not until the 13th May that Lalwe surrendered himself to Mr. Tuck at Haka, and the Klangklang tribe finally paid the price of the unprovoked attack on Lieutenant Macnabb's escort in April 1891, the actual number of guns withdrawn in consequence of that attack being 282.

(6) *Falam-Yahow affairs.*

During the rains a dispute which at one time threatened acute complications arose between the group of Falam villages, of which Minkin and Remklao are the chief, and the Yahow clan. The friction resulted from several causes, but the most important was the stopping of the trade between the two clans by the Falam Chiefs, who diverted the trade into the Ywama. The discontented villages held a meeting of all their Chiefs at Shunklapi and practically decided to commence hostilities against the Yahows. They were at once warned that a breach of the peace would be considered an act of hostility to the Government and were ordered to submit their case for arbitration. This they did not hesitate to do and negotiations proceeded under our supervision for the settlement of the dispute, and it was arranged that the Assistant Political Officer, accompanied by an escort and the Falam Chiefs, should visit the Yahow country and decide matters on the spot. Mr. Brown was at this time in ill-health and was prevented by the Civil Surgeon from doing any active work and the matter had to stand over until Mr. Tuck should have finished the work in connection with Lalwe's surrender. Before this happened matters had become further involved by the murder of three Dawn villagers by a party of Yahows from Sepi and the accidental burning of 50 houses, including those of the Chiefs in Falam. It was felt that to insist on the Chiefs leaving their village at this time, when their houses and grain had hardly ceased to burn, was likely to entail a degree of hardship and annoyance which was not warranted by the urgency of the case, the ill-feeling on both sides having considerably abated meanwhile. The surrender of the Sepi murderers was, however, insisted on and a column was arranged to enforce obedience. This column, however, did not move from Falam as the three murderers were arrested and given up by the Chiefs themselves, whilst a deputation from the discontented villages visited the Assistant Political Officer and reported that the Falam Chiefs and the Yahows had made satisfactory promises, and that, if the trade routes were now declared open, both sides could undertake to keep the peace. It was then arranged that the Assistant Political Officer should hold a durbar at Shunklapi and declare the trade route open in the presence of all the Chiefs concerned. Before this could be done, however, information was received that the rebel Siyins had crossed into the Tawyan country, and I ordered Mr. Tuck to declare the trade route open from his headquarters and to proceed at once with an escort to surprise and drive the Siyins from Tashon territory. The trade route was duly declared open, and at the time of writing I foresee that no further difficulty is likely to arise from the dispute.

The arrest and surrender of the Sepi murderers is, I think, a most satisfactory indication of the hold we have over the Tashons.

The Chin Hills-Manipur boundary has been demarcated. The Siyin-Nwengal rebellion has been satisfactorily quelled, the instigators and leaders of the rebellion (Tum Tong, Paw Dal, Kuppaw, and Kaikam) have now all been deported to Burma. The Siyins have paid their full fine in guns and only 150 remain to be collected from the Nwengals.

Our 14 rifles and firearms, which fell into the hands of the Chins in 1892, have one and all been recovered.

All those who bore arms against us have now surrendered and are settled down in large villages on approved sites.

Fines have been levied to compensate those who lost property at the outbreak of the rebellion (this includes compensation to Toungu village which was raided).

Full tribute for the past and present year has been collected. And for the future I can assure the Local Government that the Northern Chins will be no cause of anxiety to Burma.

Results of the season's work.

for not only are they practically disarmed by the withdrawal of 1,732 guns, but they have been taught a lesson which this generation will not forget.

Peace has been maintained throughout the Southern Hills during the year and its tribute has been satisfactorily levied.

The Klangklang tribe has finally atoned for its unprovoked attack on Lieutenant Macnabb in 1891, the leader of that attack, Lalwe, having surrendered and the tribe been deprived of 282 guns.

The operations in the Baungshe country and the down fall of Rawywa, the most important of the independent villages, has greatly increased our prestige in the extreme south of my jurisdiction, the administration of which is rendered unusually difficult owing to its great distance from our posts.

The settlement of the Tashon-Yahow quarrel, surrender by the Falam Chiefs of the three Yahows who killed three Klangklang tribesmen, and the surrender of Thègyi, the Gangaw rebel,¹ are facts which indicate a satisfactory state of affairs in the central hills.

SKETCH OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF EACH TRIBE DURING THE YEAR.

(1) *The Tashons.*

The policy of the Falam Chiefs and why they have behaved so well since our occupation of their tract are questions which have been much discussed, especially as we know that they tried to raise a general rebellion in the beginning of 1892, so as to prevent the occupation of Falam.

I now venture to state that the policy of the Council is to strain every nerve to maintain their former prestige over their subordinates and tributaries and, at the same time, to behave in a friendly manner to us so long as we do not try to undermine their authority or lower them in the eyes of their people.

That the old Chiefs are well aware that recourse to arms would be the death-blow to their rule I am fully convinced, and this accounts, I think, for their always giving way when we press a point.

As time advances we have learnt to understand each other, and as long as the Tashons behave as they are doing I am always ready to treat their just and moderate requests with every consideration, although nothing which could be interpreted as implying anything other than their true position in regard to us is ever accorded them.

Our relations with the Tashons at the present time may fairly be described as cordial; the Chiefs visit us in our houses, and we, unescorted and unarmed, return the calls in their village.

The prompt payment of tribute, the ending of the Tashon-Yahow feud on our representations, the handing up of Sepi murderers, and the almost entire absence of crime in this tract all prove the present satisfactory state of affairs at Falam.

Of course we must not disguise from ourselves the fact that there are probably 2,500 guns in the Tashon, Yahow, and Whenoh tracts, and that it is not always within the power of the old Chiefs to restrain their young men, who for some cause, either real or imaginary, are apt to fly to the liquor pot and thence to their guns and so upset the whole plans and wishes of the Political Officer.

The post at Hanta was withdrawn during the year.

(2) *The Hakas.*

Our dealings with the Hakas have throughout the year been of a very satisfactory nature. No tribal crimes have been committed and our demands for transport coolies and other orders have been readily complied with.

The divergent interests of the numerous Chiefs still continue, and, although every encouragement has been given to the Council to settle disputes between their own people, a very large number of petty cases have eventually to be decided by our officers.

The harvest was a remarkably poor one and the scarcity experienced in many villages rendered difficult in some cases the collection of the tribute due to the Chiefs.

¹ Thègyi was one of the Shwe Gyo Byu Prince's most prominent lieutenants and was one of those outlaws whom the Tashons refused to surrender to General Symons in 1889-90. The Gyi is now pardoned, but is not yet allowed to return to Burma; he is used by the Political Officers to count houses and carry messages; his Chief, the Shwe Gyo Byu, who returned to Burma, was arrested, tried, and hanged in 1891.

The registers show 11 cases of petty theft from the Haka post, which is a slight increase on last year and is due to the more frequent visits the Chins make to see the post and to the large number of coolies daily employed on the works.

There were seven disputes pending arbitration at the close of last year; of these five have been finally settled and two are as yet incomplete. During the year under report 39 disputes have been submitted for arbitration. Of these 24 have been disposed of, while the others are pending. Of these three are disputes about the boundaries of village cultivations, two concern the right to levy tribute, and the remainder are disputes concerning moveable property.

With the permission of the Political Officer a new village of 30 houses was founded during the year.

(3) *The Yokwas.*

The Yokwas have given no trouble during the year and the Chiefs as heretofore have been able to settle their own affairs.

In May a drunken quarrel at a feast in Sinkwa resulted in the death of one man; his assailant was at once brought in to the Assistant Political Officer and the case has been satisfactorily arranged by the payment of guns to us and compensation to the relatives of the deceased.

Two new villages, each containing 20 houses, were founded by permission during the year, and Faron village, which was accidentally destroyed by fire in February, has since been rebuilt.

The harvest was a very bad one and at one time the Yokwas seriously considered asking sanction to emigrate *en masse* to Burma.

(4) *The Klangklangs.*

Our dealings with Klangklang were mostly in connection with the surrender of Lalwe, which has already been recorded. Apart from this they behaved well during the year, submitting their few inter-tribal disputes for arbitration and obeying the orders given to them.

The surrender of Lalwe has put our dealing with the tribe on a satisfactory basis and will enable us to treat them in a more friendly way than was possible while the outlaw was at large.

Mr. Hutchinson, Assistant Superintendent of Police, stationed in the Lushai Hills, marched from Lungleh to Haka during the open season through the Klangklang tract to escort Panthay mules to Lushai, and later the Panthay mules and drivers returned by the same route unescorted to Haka.

(5) *The Independent Baungshees.*

The Baungshe country has been fairly peaceful during the year. It is impossible from Haka to keep a very firm hold over the furthestmost villages and the want of a post in that part of the hills has again been felt.

The work done by the Baungshe column has already been recorded. In consequence of the time taken up in dealing with the resistance of Rawywa it was not possible to reach Lungno, which is the only village of any importance which has not paid its tribute.

In May the Thettas committed two raids, both in revenge for the deaths of their people. In one seven men of Thetta fired at and dangerously wounded a villager of Paizôn in revenge for the deaths of two Thettas who were found dead near that village in 1892, and in the other the relations of Sankwe, the guide who was killed at Rawywa, fired at some Rawywa Chins, killing one and wounding another. The raiders afterwards surrendered themselves to the Assistant Political Officer, Haka.

Complete information has not yet been received and the matter must stand over until next open season, when it will be carefully enquired into, as it will never be sound for us to pass over any case of shooting between the tribes, or head-hunting and blood feuds, which are now almost extinct, will revive, and our progress will step back four years; besides this our prestige has always suffered by the defeat which we experienced at Thetta in 1890-91 and to now pass over this behaviour of Thetta would amount in the eyes of the Chin to cowardice on our part.

In the south we must keep the peace with a strong hand, and, if Thetta is found guilty of the two raids, I shall earnestly advocate that the village be disarmed, a feat which can be managed at small cost without fear of embroiling ourselves with the other independent tribes and which will place us in our proper position as regards Thetta and at the same time nip the revival of head-hunting in the bud.

During the year 132 guns have been withdrawn from the Baungshe country.

(6) *The Siyins.*

The last two years' work in the Siyin tract has been to thoroughly subdue and disarm the inhabitants, a task which has been prolonged owing to the extraordinarily obstinate nature of these tribesmen. This, however, is now accomplished and the inhabitants are completely cowed and the country ripe for more regular and less forcible administration than has been the rule during the first six years of our occupation.

Four hundred houses comprise the tribe, which is divided into four clans. These clans occupy six villages only and these six villages are now built on approved sites, at once removed from the plains of Burma, and near our posts. The Siyin clan inhabits three of these villages, whilst the Toklaing, Sagyilain, and Bweman clans severally occupy the remaining three villages. Each clan is ruled by its own Chief and each Chief is directly responsible to the Assistant Political Officer at Tiddim.

Of all the clans Sagyilain alone retains guns. Only 55 guns were withdrawn from its 90 houses, the rest being left as a reward for remaining loyal during the rebellion of 1892 and for the subsequent assistance given us whilst disarming the other three clans.

From the 400 Siyin houses we have withdrawn 431 guns.

During this year, when I found it necessary to bring pressure on the tribe, I took the opportunity of improving the district and I made the people build two posts, one at Toklaing and one at Tavak, and a standing camp at Sagyilain; they had also to improve the roads.

I have now ordered that these posts and all roads be kept in order by the villagers so as to enable Political Officers to visit the villages during the rains, a very necessary procedure in the Chin Hills.

Last year, with the sanction of the Chief Commissioner, I reduced the cooly rates for stages on the main roads, and this year I seized the opportunity to halve the cooly rates for coolies accompanying troops. The daily rate in the north is now 8 annas only, except on the main roads, where rates are paid according to distance (at the latter part of the operations the Siyins received no pay for cooly work, this being part of their punishment for assisting the rebels).

The only serious crime which was committed during the year was the murder of a drabi by a man who proved to be a Pimpi rebel, whose relations had fallen in action. This man later on surrendered himself with his gun.

The Siyin is now thoroughly thrashed and the tribe will now sink into insignificance.

(7) *The Sokte Tribe.*

I will deal with the Soktes in three parts, (i) the Soktes (meaning those who live on the left bank of the Manipur river); (ii) the Nwengals (those who live on the right bank); (iii) the Kanhow clan.

The Soktes were disarmed last year and have behaved well throughout the period under report, paying their tribute and obeying orders. The villages are generally ruled by independent Chiefs and each village is dealt with separately by the Assistant Political Officer.

Dok Taung, Chief of Mobingyi, had to be arrested and temporarily sent to Kindat jail on account of his sympathy with the Siyin refugees. He is now released.

Lym Tum, the Chief of Darbôn, was temporarily arrested for having broken the peace by seizing ten cattle belonging to a Tashon border village with which he had quarrelled. Eventually he was released after returning the cattle and paying us a fine of seven guns.

The Sokte Nwengals.—These villages rebelled last year and for this they were disarmed and the principal Chief, Twum Tong, his son Paw Dal, the Hele Chief, and a villager, who had made himself notorious by killing two sepoys, were deported. The villages surrendered last year. As already described, Mr. Fowler visited the Nwengal tract and continued the disarmament with success this year. Most of the principal villages in the tract were burned last year either by the rebels themselves or by us during the fighting, and our object is to have all these villages rebuilt and to settle the people down as before.

All but Kaptyal have been entirely rebuilt. I shall suggest later on that the Hele Chief be returned to me, when I propose to release him on the payment in full of the still outstanding guns.

Twum Tong, the Kaptyal Chief, and his son have both died in jail, and I have now appointed the second son, a lad of 15, to be Chief, and I have selected his advisers and placed him under the care of his cousin Howchinkup, the Kanhow Chief, who will see that the majority of the villagers return and rebuild the village, which already contains several houses.

Whilst in this tract Mr. Fowler caused the people to clear the jungle on and to repair the village roads, but this work will not be considered as completed until laden mules can follow the Assistant Political Officer from village to village throughout the length of the land.

Fines, arrears of tribute, and tribute were readily paid in by these villages, who have settled down quietly and will most probably remain so, having no guns.

The Kanhow Clan.—As was to be expected from its good behaviour during the rebellion, this clan has not committed a single offence during the year.

All the villages of the clan are ruled by the Chief Howchinkup. This Chief is young and ambitious, but unable to maintain his position unaided on account of his youth and the superior influence acquired by his uncles and cousins before his birth. He consequently appealed to me to help him to gain and keep the position which is his by right of birth and custom. I eagerly espoused his cause, placed him in his proper position, and have stood staunchly by him; for this Howchinkup has repaid me handsomely; last year he disarmed his clan and this year he has disarmed several of the Thado villages for us, including villages which were then claimed and are now owned by Manipur. During the Boundary Commission he saved us the expense of making a base 60 miles from Tiddim by guaranteeing and fulfilling his promise to ration the party and protect the stores without military guards. Later, again, he played an active part in the Siyin operations, and his name certainly deserves to be mentioned amongst those who contributed to the successful conclusion of the campaign. I have been able during the season to overcome the antipathy with which the sons of the notorious old Chief Yetol had until recently viewed our presence in the hills. The destruction of their villages in 1885-89 and the submission of the clan, which was such a great power in the days of Kanhow and Yetol, was a great blow to these Chiefs, and for five years they sulked and would have no dealing with us and at the same time they set themselves up in opposition to Howchinkup. Now we are all reconciled and I have given the eldest How Kum a gun and he has presented me with the tusk of an elephant shot by Yetol. These cousins of Howchinkup are now placed in charge of villages under him and they are assisting instead of retarding progress.

Yetol's two brothers (Howchinkup's uncles) now visit me and are reconciled to, though they do not welcome, our rule; they are old men and I keep a very tight hand on them and do not allow them to have a voice in the administration of the clan.

By the delimitation of the Manipur boundary Howchinkup lost several villages which his forefathers had conquered and which up to that time had paid him a nominal tribute; to compensate him for this I took the opportunity of withdrawing the independence of Litmi and Mwial, the two most northern Sokte-Nwengal villages, on account of misbehaviour during the rebellion and I have made them both over to Howchinkup.

The Kanhow capital Tunzan is gaining in size and the Chief is attempting to collect his numerous petty villages into a few substantial ones. No Kanhow village is allowed on the eastern slopes of the Letha range.

(8) *The Thado Tribe.*

The border line between the Chin Hills and Manipur has carved the Thado tribe into two and the Chin Hills now contain but six Thado villages. These I have disarmed, not completely but sufficiently, I believe, to render them harmless to Burma.

The six villages are all placed under Howchinkup, who by right of succession inherits his great grandfather's conquests. Over them I shall have to uphold Howchinkup's rule, but they are an insignificant lot of people and have never given us any trouble. The "Thado tribe" now drops out of my books as well as the "Yo" and "Nwit" (including the Vaise) tribes," which are now included in the Kuki or Kongjai hills of Manipur.

The primary object of the occupation of the Chin Hills is to protect the plains of Burma from the aggressions of the Chins, and in this we have been completely successful. No raids and no offences against life have been committed by the Chins in Burma.

The Pimpi rebels, who were reduced to great privation during the operations against them, committed some five simple cattle-thefts in the plains, for which I have promised compensation. I have no hesitation in reporting that the Kale-Kabaw subdivision is now safe from Chin raids, and that therefore there is no need to maintain a single policeman in that valley in order to protect the plains from the Chins.

No raids have been committed either in Manipur territory by the Chins, or in the Chin Hills by the tribes under Manipur, and the same is true regarding the Lushai Hills.

On the Arakan Hill Tracts frontier we know of no misbehaviour by the Chins, but we are not in a position to hear much of what goes on in the very remote and unadministered strip of country between us and the tract administered from Paletwa. Our Southern Baungshes have not, I believe, raided into the Chinmè country this year, but they, like our tribesmen on the Arakan border, are so far from our posts that I cannot pretend to have more than a nominal control over them. Mr. Tuck when on the Baungshe trip fired Lota and Hringtan in guns and live-stock for raiding Welaung and Taipung, Chimmè villages, in 1892-93.

The attached schedule shows the stage we have reached in disarmament.

We have now completed the disarmament of the Northern Hills (with the exception of 150 guns from the Nwengals). The following is the result :—

Siyins	...	...	...	...	431
Soktes	...	...	...	...	1,168
Thados	...	...	...	...	123
				Total	1,722

Of this number we withdrew during the year under report—

Siyins	...	...	...	...	112
Soktes	...	...	...	...	137
Thados	...	...	...	...	123
				Total	372

The Tashons have given us no cause to withdraw any guns this year and we therefore only improve last year's total by 5, making a total of 366.

During the year 205 guns have been withdrawn from the south as follows—Hakas 8, Klangklangs 62, Yokwas 3, and Baungshes 132. This brings the Baungshe and Haka total up to 481.

The grand total withdrawn to date is 2,569.

I have started the system of issuing gun licenses to Chiefs and others, and a record of these licenses is kept.

Owing to a Madras firm failing to comply with my order for gun stamps I have not, however, been able to stamp and register the guns; the order for the necessary stamps has now been given to a firm in Burma, and this work will be commenced next season.

The Kanhows and Sagyilains are anxious to have their guns numbered and stamped, as they look on the stamp as a guarantee that the licensed gun will not be withdrawn by us in the future unless the owners misbehave. This is the view I also hold on the subject.

The tribute collections in the Chin Hills for 1892-93 amounted to Rs. 11,964-8-0, there being an outstanding of Rs. 2,084 at the close of that year. This year the tribute assessment amounted to Rs. 14,902 and the net demand, including outstandings (Rs. 2,084) and remissions (Rs. 20), was Rs. 16,966.

At the close of the year under report the collections stood at Rs. 16,606, leaving Rs. 963 outstanding, which has been carried forward to the new year.

In the south several villages have been over-assessed, and the revised assessment which will be necessary next year will decrease the demand in that part of the country, and it will be some years before we shall be in a position to demand a larger amount of tribute than is shown this year, which includes the collection of a larger outstanding and the enhancement in the assessment in the north made as a punishment for delay and attempt to evade payment.

It must be remembered that the Chins, unlike the Kukis under Manipur, do not grow rice and have therefore nothing to export, so that it is not possible to raise the house-tax to Rs. 3 as is done by that State, nor is it possible to take tribute in rice, which would enable us to feed the garrisons and save the cost of the carriage of rice from Burma.

It is to be expected that as our expenditure in the country decreases, our difficulties in collecting tribute in cash will increase.

The small outstandings in the Northern Hills will be collected without difficulty. Sixteen guns were withdrawn from Baungshe country during the year for delay in payment of tribute.

The recovery of Burman captives from the Chins was practically completed two years ago, when our registers showed that nearly 600 had been set free and had returned

to their homes. Renewed enquiry in Burma and the Hills revealed the fact that five more Burmans still remained in captivity, and of these we recovered four, one only remaining unaccounted for and she is detained in a distant village on the Lushai border; her recovery is but a matter of time. Out of four Manipuri, Kuki, and Naga captives alleged to be in slavery in the Chin Hills we have been successful in tracing and recovering two." * * *

At the close of the season's work the Northern Chin Hills posts were garrisoned by the 1st Burma Rifles commanded by Major Presgrave, whilst the Southern Hills were garrisoned by the 6th Burma Battalion commanded by Major Keary, D.S.O. Mr. Fowler remained in political charge of the Northern Chin Hills, Mr. Biggwither was placed in charge of the Tashons and their tributaries, and Mr. Thruston administered the Haka tract.

During the year a great advance was made in the improvement of the district, much work was done on the main road from

Local works. Tiddim to Haka, a telegraph line between Fort White and Falam was constructed and permanent barracks and houses were built of brick and stone at Tiddim and Haka, whilst an entirely new post at Falam was occupied by the troops. The temporary post built in 1892 was found to be unhealthy and the site had therefore been condemned.

CHAPTER IX.

THE EVENTS OF 1894-95.

DURING the rains of 1894 peace reigned in the Chin Hills, broken only by Thetta village, which dacoited some buffaloes on the Kan-Haka road. This village, which had during the previous Conduct of Thetta. cold weather recommenced the prosecution of blood feuds, now became restless and the Chiefs refused to recognize our right to summon them and to control the actions of their people.

After a full enquiry had been held concerning the conduct of the village, the Government of India sanctioned an expedition against Thetta. The force consisted of 150 rifles of the 6th Expedition against Thetta. Burma Battalion and 50 rifles of the 1st Burma Rifles, and also two guns of No. 7 Bombay Mountain Battery, which were sent from Mandalay. The expedition was commanded by Major Keary, D.S.O., 6th Burma Battalion, and Mr. H. N. Tuck was entrusted with the political control. The expedition¹ left Haka on 1st January 1895 in two parties. Major Keary's force, consisting of 150 rifles and two guns, advanced on the village, whilst Lieutenant Henegan, with 50 rifles, made a detour and, marching *via* Rawvan, took the village in the rear. The Thettas offered no opposition and the village was occupied on 2nd January, being the fourth anniversary of the previous attack. Mr. Tuck at once convened an assemblage of the villagers and publicly announced that the Government had ordered the total disarmament of the village. The Chiefs promised to comply with the terms and were held as security for their own promises.

¹ Major Keary, D.S.O., 6th Burma Battalion; Lieutenant J. Henegan, 1st Burma Rifles; Lieutenant A. B. Murray, 6th Burma Battalion; Lieutenant Forrester Walker, R.A.; Surgeon-Lieutenant Foulks, I.M.S.; Mr. H. N. Tuck, Assistant Political Officer; Captain J. Harvey, R.A., Intelligence Officer.

The villagers were prepared to pay a small fine in guns, but they had not expected total disarmament and they now tried by every passive means to evade the demands. The troops therefore, adopting the tactics which had been learnt in the Northern Chin rebellion, moved out and laid waste the fields and burned the grain supplies, which soon had the effect of bringing in 80 guns, the full number demanded.

Meanwhile Mr. Carey, the Political Officer, who was watching events at Haka, was approached by the Yokwas, who brought in 33 guns and promised to increase this number to 80, at the same time begging that they might not be punished by the troops for any mistakes which they had committed in the past. It had not been intended to punish Yokwa or to disarm the tribe, but now the chance was too good to be lost and Yokwa was ordered to pay a fine of 100 guns.

It now appeared probable, as Yokwa was in such a satisfactory frame of mind, that other villages in the immediate vicinity of Thetta would also lay down their arms, and it was therefore proposed that the column should leave Thetta and march south to Shurkwa to disarm as many villages as might appear willing to peaceably surrender their guns. The Local Government sanctioned this proposal and Mr. Carey then joined the column at Thetta. Thetta had now completed its fine and therefore the Political Officer released the Chiefs and in open durbar degraded them from their position, dissolved the council for ever, and appointed Radun, an hereditary and well-disposed Chief, to be the sole recognized Chief of the village. The column then marched south to Shurkwa and during the next 10 days the surrounding villages brought in their guns to our camp and broke them up themselves in our presence. The ease with which we got the guns encouraged the Political Officer to plan a march to Lungno, the most southern village in the Chin Hills jurisdiction and which lies on the borders of the Chinmès. This march was effected by Major Keary and 100 men of the 6th Burma Battalion, whilst Captain Henegan held the advanced base at Shurkwa with 50 men of the 1st Burma Rifles. The Lungno trip occupied 10 days and its success far exceeded expectations, for it resulted in the disarming of a tract of country 80 miles long and 50 broad which immediately bordered the valleys of Burma.

A further grant of Rs. 5,000 was now obtained to continue the work and messengers were sent to the powerful Naring group ordering them to bring in a portion of their guns and they unhesitatingly complied. Messengers were next sent to the two Haka villages of Dongvar and Bwenlon, demanding their guns, and these villages, after reference to the Haka Chiefs, meekly obeyed the order. The column returned to Haka on 15th February, having taken 936 guns from 37 independent villages, the Yokwa tribe, and two Haka villages. It was evident, by the surrender of the Bwenlon and Dongvar guns, that the Hakas were not prepared to fight for their guns, and so the Chiefs were summoned and informed that it was decided to disarm the tribe forthwith. They made no protest, but merely begged that the disarmament should be partial and not thorough, as their guns were really necessary to protect

their crops from wild animals and had never, like the Thetta, Klangklang, Yokwa, and Shurkwa guns, been misused for firing on the troops.

The assessment on the Haka villages was fixed, as in the case of the independent southern villages, at two-thirds of the total number of guns, which we believed, and not what the people themselves asserted, that they possessed. Curiously enough the Yokwas, who had voluntarily come forward and surrendered guns, now cavilled at paying up the 100 demanded of them, and so Mr. Thruston accompanied by Captain Henegan marched to Yokwa and brought pressure to bear on the Chiefs, which resulted in the full amount of 100 guns being surrendered, in addition to a further number of 32 out of the extra 50 now demanded for procrastination. Mr. Carey now left the Southern Chin Hills and Mr. Tuck continued the work of disarmament.

On 7th March, with a party of 100 rifles commanded by Lieutenant Geoghegan, he left Haka to disarm the Haka and Klangklang villages which lie to the west of Haka and which border the South Lushai Hills. The party remained out for 20 days and dealt with 24 villages, withdrawing 224 guns from the Klangklang country and 84 from the western Haka villages.

The Klangklang tribe was thus practically disarmed for, in addition to the 224 guns now received, 266 had been withdrawn prior to the trip, and thus 490 guns had been taken from a tribe which contains but 975 houses. Whilst Mr. Tuck was collecting guns on the Lushai border, Mr. Thruston remained at Haka and received the guns brought in by the surrounding Haka villages, which amounted to two hundred in the three weeks. On the 1st April the gun register showed that we had disarmed the Chin Hills to the following extent :—

						Guns.
Tashons	...	...	...	...	...	255
Yahows	...	...	...	...	...	40
Whenohs	...	...	...	...	...	76
Hakas	...	...	...	...	...	605
Klangklangs	...	...	...	...	...	490
Yokwa	...	...	...	...	...	140
Independent Southern villages	...	...	...	...	...	940
Siyins	...	...	...	...	...	433
Soktes	...	...	...	...	...	340
Sokte-Nwengals	...	...	...	...	...	553
Kanhows	...	...	...	...	...	307
Thados	...	...	...	...	...	123
Total					...	4,302

In the Central Chin Hills Mr. Biggwith, Assistant Political Officer, accompanied by Captain Keate, 6th Burma Battalion, made a tour in the Yahow tract, visiting 24 villages. The trip was entirely successful and peaceful; an increase of 739 houses was discovered and cordial relations were established with Vannul, the Chief of the Yahow tribe, who up to this time had held somewhat aloof of us, and had not visited us in our houses. Mr. Biggwith also made other tours in the Tashon tract which were of a friendly and peaceable nature.

In the beginning of December the Political Officer, accompanied by Mr. Fowler, made a tour in the Siyin country for the purpose of appointing Chiefs of the various clans, for, with the exception of Mang Lon, Chief of Sagyilain, all the Chiefs had died or been deported during the rebellion of 1892. Strict enquiries were instituted as to the hereditary rights of the various claimants and durbars were held at Tavak, Lope, and Toklaing, when the Chiefs of each clan were formally appointed, each receiving a parchment sanad. This incident closes the rebellion of 1892-93.

In January Mr. Fowler, with a small escort, made a tour in the Siyin country, his primary object being to remove the two villages of Tannwe and Shwimpi, which had been built by the Siyins in proscribed country. The houses were demolished by the people themselves, who were then taken back by the Assistant Political Officer and settled down in the authorized villages inhabited by their respective families.

In February Mr. Fowler made an extended tour in the Nwengal country, visiting several new villages which were being started under the auspices of Howchinkup; the people were found to be rebuilding houses and settling down comfortably. In March Mr. Fowler made a tour in the Kanhow tract, marching through Tunzan and Lenacot to the northern boundary at the mouth of the Yangchaung stream. Here he unsuccessfully attempted to recover a box of treasure which had been lost in the Manipur river the previous year. Mr. Fowler was met not only by all the Kanhow Chiefs, but also by the trans-border Kuki Chiefs, one and all of whom were friendly and polite. During the trip 50 guns were stamped and licensed.

Howchinkup repaired the Manipur mule-road which had been constructed in 1891-92 and it is now open and in good order from Tiddim to Manipur. This road is entrusted to Howchinkup, who is to keep it in a thorough state of repair free of cost to the State.

In December 1894 a Military Police Battalion relieved the 1st Burma Rifles in the Northern Chin Hills. The Police Battalion consists of six police companies and the sanctioned strength of officers is six. The battalion is furnished with two guns (7 lb., 150 pounders); also with 30 mounted infantry, signalling apparatus, and mule transport. It is intended in the future that the battalion shall be composed of Gurkhas and Garhwalis only, but at present Sikhs, Pathans, Garhwalis, and Gurkhas are all found in the ranks. The three Sikh companies which were transferred from the Mandalay Police Battalion are a particularly fine set of men. The battalion is fully capable of doing the work required of it, which up to last December was performed by the military. Captain Whiffin, 18th Bengal Lancers, was the first Commandant of the Battalion.

During the year no offences were committed by Chins against the telegraph wire, no shot was fired throughout the year in earnest, no raids were committed by our tribesmen across any of our borders, and no murders of our people committed in the hills.

CHAPTER X.

THE HISTORY OF THE SOKTE TRIBE.

THE Soktes, in common with all the Northern Chins, believed that their original progenitors commenced life at Chin Nwe and they affirm that their tribal name of Sokte bears out this theory. "Sok" or "Shok" means "to go down" or "below" and "te" is the plural affix applied to persons, and the tribal name is therefore Sokte, implying those who went south or below the parent village to settle. Molbem,¹ which lies south of Chin Nwe,² is, we know, the original capital of the Sokte tribe.

The Soktes trace back their pedigree for six generations. Of the first two Chiefs, Mang Pyim and Mang Kim, tradition tells us but little. They are supposed to have fostered the little settlement at Molbem, which became a large and flourishing village³ in Mang Kim's time. Both these Chiefs are buried at Molbem.

Kantum.

The first name of real note in the history of the Soktes is that of Mang Kim's son, Kantum. As a young man, Kantum quarrelled with his father's people and lived in the south till Mang Kim's death. He then returned, accompanied by followers from the Tashon country,⁴ and placing himself at the head of the Sokte family proceeded to conquer the Northern Chin Hills. He carried his arms right up to the plain of Manipur; and all the tribes he met with on the way either paid him tribute without fighting, or paid him tribute after having been defeated. The great work of his life was the conquest of the Northern Hills. His fights with the Yahows and Lushais were unimportant. He was advanced in age when he became Chief of the Soktes and is said to have ridden a pony on the march during his campaigns.

The Soktes declare that in Kantum's time they committed no raids on Burma. The earliest raids on Burma of which we have authentic records were not committed before 1850. It is therefore quite possible that they did not begin until after Kantum's death.

The tribes conquered by Kantum were the Nwitès, who then occupied the tract we now know as the Kanhow tract; the Yòs, who are still found dotted about the Northern hills and in the hills south-east of Cachar; the Thados, who then, and still, inhabit the hills fringing the plain of Manipur and the Kabaw valley; and the Vaipes,⁵ a tribe which has entirely disappeared from the Chin Hills, though the remains of their former strongly fortified villages are found on the summits of the high hills on the north-eastern border of Lushai and the south-western border of Manipur.

¹ Molbem (or Mobingyi, as it is called by the Burmans) still exists.

² Chin Nwe still exists.

³ Or rather two villages, one a few hundred yards below the other.

⁴ Kantum had been residing in Tashon territory, and before returning to Molbem he arranged with the Tashons that they should recognize him as Chief of the Soktes and in return that he would pay them tribute triennially; hence the Tashons claim the right to administer the Soktes, which, however, we do not allow.

⁵ Waipies, as called in Assam records.

The Thados offered a good resistance to Kantum and most of their villages were committed to the flames before they submitted; the Yos either migrated north out of the Soktes' reach or quietly submitted, and the Nwites did not offer any resistance whatever.

The Chins cannot fix the date of the Sokte conquest, and the surviving sons of Kanhow merely say that it was during the time of their grandfather Kantum. We have therefore to refer to the records of Manipur, and to the border Burmans, who have a considerable knowledge of the history of the Chins.

We know that Captain Pemberton in 1834, under orders of the Government and on behalf of Manipur, handed over the Kabaw valley to the King of Burma and at the same time he defined the southern border of Manipur State by drawing an imaginary line through the Northern Chin Hills. We have also learned from old Shan residents of the Kabaw valley that this southern boundary was soon afterwards disregarded and ignored by Kantum, who included this country in his conquests and took tribute from the Thados, who then lived in the group of five villages west of Tinzin, the capital of which was Panchin.¹

Also we read that during the reign of Nur Singh (1834—50) the Soktes took possession of Mombee² on the very border of the Manipur plain, and although it is probable that the village was seized not by Soktes, but by Thados, yet the act was due to the Soktes, who were pressing north and driving the southern Thados before them.

In Sir Alexander Mackenzie's book we find that Mombee³ was inhabited by the Nokatung section of Soktes; and Kantum's grandsons now tell us that Nokatung's village was originally inhabited by Thados and that the village was destroyed by Kantum on his victorious march to the north.

We may, therefore, fix the approximate date of the Sokte conquest as 1840.

Kantum's Successors.

Kantum died and was buried at Molbem. He had six⁴ sons: the eldest was Kanhow and the youngest Yapow.⁵ According to the tribal custom Yapow inherited his father's house at Molbem and the chieftainship of the tribe.

Kanhow, however, had already founded a village called Tiddim⁶ in the midst of his father's conquests and although by right of custom he was subordinate to his young brother, he nevertheless ruled his villages so absolutely that the Sokte tribe became known as two separate communities; those villages directly under Yapow adhering to the tribal name of Sokte,⁷ whilst those ruled

¹ Known to the Burmans as Pinzin Nga Ywa.

² Lormpi, as known to the Chins.

³ Nul Shun, the present Chief, is a Thado of the Mang Vum family. The Mang Vums consider themselves the blue bloods of the Thado race. Mang Vum was Chief of Mwelpi when Kantum conquered the north.

⁴ Kanhow, No Pow, Yakai, Pow Kam, Ya Pow, Kanyam.

⁵ Yapow was the youngest son of Kantum by his wife; he had a son younger than Yapow by a concubine, but this son Kanyam was precluded by custom from becoming Chief or even inheriting any of his father's property.

⁶ On the site of this village is the existing post of this name.

⁷ Saiyan, Chin Nwe, Wunkathe, Kholai, Yon, Phunum, Shwimpi, Tannwe, Dimlo, Dimpi, Phailian. Several of these villages disappeared after the Siyin-Ywengal rebellion of 1892. The Sokte-Nwengal villages had not yet been founded at Kantum's death and the country was then notorious for its herds of elephants.

by Kanhow took the name of Kanhowte or Kanhow's people, who are known to this day as the Kanhow clan of the Sokte tribe.

We find the Soktes first called Kanhows by the Manipuris at the end of the fifties, and from information locally acquired it would appear that Kanhow commenced to rule about 1848. Guns had begun to find their way into the hands of the Soktes at the end of Kantum's reign, being acquired from Burma, Manipur, and Lushai, and during Kanhow's lifetime the tribe became fully armed.

At his father's death Kanhow at once adopted an aggressive policy, and although his father earned the title of "the conqueror," to Kanhow belongs the credit of consolidating the aliens into one tribe, whose name became a terror to Manipur, Lushai, and Burma.

At the commencement of Kanhow's rule he suffered a reverse at the hands of the Burmans, who, in revenge it is supposed for cattle-stealing, marched into the hills about 1850, and burnt Kanhow's village at Tiddim and also Lamian. Kanhow hastened to submit to the Sawbwa of Kale and acknowledged his rule.¹

Peace, however, only lasted for a few months and then war broke out between the Chins and Burmans, which lasted, with more or less severity, until our occupation of the Chin Hills in 1889.

The Chins, who always profess to have right on their side, explain that the wife of the Kale Sawbwa having died at Yazagyo, Kanhow sent to his suzerain, the Sawbwa, a deputation to express his sympathy and also the gift of a Chin slave. The deputation was received, and the slave accepted, but whilst the deputation was returning to the hills it was surrounded by Burmans and the whole party beheaded. Kanhow then declared war, and it cost the Government an enormous sum to enforce the cessation of hostilities some forty years later.

In 1856 the Soktes committed a serious raid on a hill village in Manipur. The result of the expedition undertaken in consequence of this raid has already been noticed.² Soktes and Siyins tell us that the Maharajah, who was carried in a palanquin, led his army right up to Tiddim, Kanhow allowing it to advance in peace. Kanhow meanwhile collected all

¹ Pemberton some fifteen years previously had written about the Kale Sawbwa :—

"That portion of his subjects who reside in the plains is almost entirely composed of Shans, while those on the hills west of Kale are all Kyens or wild mountain tribes who tender but a very imperfect submission to his authority. The force kept up by the Kule Raja principally consists of these Kyens, who are only occasionally called upon; and it is probable that in case of extreme urgency he might be able to raise a force of 5,000 men from among the Shans and Kyens; but these latter could never be depended upon for service beyond his own district, and even then reverse would cause their immediate dispersion and return to their fortresses in the hills."

This would lead us to believe that the Chins were subordinate to the Kale Sawbwa prior to 1850, but no information is available from the Hlutdaw records, the Sawbwa's papers, or from the Chins.

² See page 17.

his forces at Tiddim. Here Yapow joined him with the Soktes, and the Siyins under their Chiefs also came to Tiddim to fight the common enemy.

When the Manipuris were within a few miles of Tiddim, Kanhow led out his force against them, and after a few minutes of heavy fire the Manipuris broke and retreated, leaving their heavy baggage and the Maharajah's palanquin in the hands of the Chins. The Manipuris tried to return home along the course of the Manipur river and the Soktes state that more were drowned in the river than were killed by the Chins. Tradition so exaggerates the catastrophe of the Manipuris that the Chins now believe that so many bodies floated down the river as to poison the water, and that the Burmans sent a message up to the hills begging the Chins not to defile the river as it was used for drinking purposes.

The Soktes assert that they captured forty guns, and the reward of the Siyins for their assistance was three Manipuris' heads.

After this and during the rest of Kanhow's reign his people from time to time raided into Manipur.

Till his death Kanhow made fierce war on the Lushais, chiefly on Vanolel¹

and Labura.² The Soktes state that, being short of food, some of their people went to Vanolel and his son Labura to buy rice, but these Chiefs sent them back empty. The Soktes nevertheless again went to buy rice, and this time the Chief Vanolel and his son killed one of the party and thus forced Kanhow to declare war.

The Soktes declare that they destroyed Tumpai,³ Lenkam, and Tatlan-kwa⁴ on separate occasions, and overran the whole of the country round Champai with raiding parties, which took innumerable heads and some captives.⁵ The Siyins joined the Soktes in these raids, and Lushai slaves are still found amongst both Soktes and Siyins.

The Lushais did not quietly submit to the depredations of the Chins, and Labura twice marched into the Sokte tract with a large force. On the first occasion his objective was Saiyan, but his party was discovered whilst still the other side of the river, and the Soktes, having been duly warned, succeeded in ambushing the Lushais and driving them back. The bodies of seven Lushais fell into the hands of the Soktes.

Labura's second attempt was aimed at Molbem, and this time he succeeded in crossing the Manipur river unobserved. Molbem is, however, perched on the summit of the high cliffs of the Manipur river, and being strongly defended the Lushais had no chance, and were driven back on the river, in recrossing which two of them were drowned.

As Kanhow died in 1868 and our Lushai expedition took place in 1871-72, Kanhow did not take part in the war as stated in the Manipur records. Kochim, his successor, was Chief in 1871.

¹ This notorious Chief is called Wunnwelyin by the Chins, which being interpreted is the Greatest under the Skies.

² Labura, son of Vanolel, Chief of Champai.

³ Champai.

⁴ Kwunglyin.

⁵ The Siyins and Soktes say that they captured 200 slaves from Tatlan-kwa alone.

Kanhow found cause to commence hostilities with the Yahows and outlying Tashons of Kwungli and Botung, &c., on the ground that they were confirmed thieves and should be punished. This undertaking was not successful, for the Yahows in force attacked his brother Yapow in Molbem. The attack failed; but so numerous were his opponents, and so persistent were they in ambushing the Soktes and lifting their cattle, that Kanhow eventually bought peace at the price of promising one gyll triennially as tribute to Kwungli.¹

Kanhow was wise enough to realize the advantages of unity, and during his lifetime all his eight sons² lived with him at Tiddim and assisted him in administering his tract as well as in leading his armies. Kanhow died in 1868 and was buried at Tiddim. At his death his youngest son, Kochim, succeeded to the chieftainship of the Kanhow clan.

Kochim.

The first event of interest in Kochim's reign was the part he played as our ally in the Lushai campaign of 1871. As already related,³ he furnished assistance at the instance of the Maharajah of Manipur.

The Soktes say that the Manipuris sent a large brass pot to Kochim at Tiddim, and asked him to help them in their war with Vanolel. He joyfully assented, collecting a huge raiding party, which numbered several hundred men⁴ and, accompanied by his brothers, set out from Tiddim, and marching two days and one night reached Champai.⁵ They found the village heavily stockaded and therefore decided not to attack, but to fight from a large stockade which the Lushais had constructed on the road to the village, which they quietly occupied at night. The next day they opened fire on the Lushais, killing three, but the Lushais then surrounded and fought them all day, and at night the Kanhows considered it advisable to retire. This they succeeded in doing with a loss of three killed and four wounded.

The next day General Bouchier's column marched into Champai, and the following extract from the *Pioneer* of the 7th May 1872 bears out the Chin story :—

"On the 17th February they (the left column) reached the village (Champai). But other invaders had been there before them; and signs of war and slaughter greeted them on every side. The withdrawal of the Manipur contingent from the frontier, owing to sickness, had set free the Sokte Kookies, old enemies of the Lushais, who, seizing the opportunity and knowing the panic caused by the advance of the British column, made

¹ It is asserted by some Chins that the Falam claim to Molbem did not originate in Kantum's time, but that when Falam made Kwungli tributary it also annexed all her dependencies and that Molbem was one, on account of Kanhow's treaty.

² Kanhow's sons were (1) Yetol, (2) Sumhow, (3) Howman, (4) Lintang, (5) Tumlyin, (6) Tankapow, (7) Howpow, (8) Kochim.

³ Page 18.

⁴ Waikam commanded the Molbem contingent and Kochim, Yetol, Howpow, and the other brothers commanded the Kanhows.

⁵ Called Tumpai by Chins.

⁶ Before Kantum's conquest in 1840 the Thados, Nwitès, and Yos were independent tribes, and their actions were uncontrolled by the Soktes.

fierce onslaught under the guidance of their Chief Kanhow.¹ Lalbura² it is true had beaten them off with loss, but their attack had probably prevented his occupying a strong position which he had stockaded and prepared across the route by which the column came, and frustrated the hopes he entertained of entangling them in the mountains."

Whilst Kochim was thus actively assisting the British troops by attacking Lalbura in the rear, the action of the Manipuris in arresting Nokatung³ alienated him from our cause.

After obtaining the restoration of the bones of Nokatung, who died in Manipur, and an exchange of prisoners, Kochim having nothing more to gain by negotiations, set to work to avenge Nokatung's treacherous arrest and consequent death by raiding and pillaging Manipur. Mention has already been made of the raiding on Manipur and the expedition sent in 1875 against the Kanhows.⁴

Kochim's brother Tankapow, who met the Manipur Majors on this expedition, confirms the impression which prevailed at the time that there was no fighting at all between the Soktes and Manipuris.

¹ Kanhow was dead; Kochim was now Chief.

² Son of Vanolel and now Chief of Champai.

³ See page 19. Nokatung was seized at Chibu (known as Chivuk to the Soktes).

⁴ "Chibu" is known as "Chivuk" to the Soktes. To commemorate the part which the Manipuris played in the Lushai expedition the Maharajah Chandra Kirti Singh caused a huge stone slab to be set up at the salt wells. On this stone is inscribed in the Manipur language expressed in Bengali character the following story: "His Highness endowed with the five qualities, Lord of Manipur, Snake King of the Meithees,* born to the throne, Ruler of the sky, the Maharajah Chandra Kirti Singh, on Saturday, 3rd Wakching of the year 1793 of the Sakabda 'era' when Laisrabra Purma Singh was Chaithapa† reduced to subjection the Lushais towards the south. The two servants of His Highness who attended (him) were San Kaichamba Balaram Sing, Steward of Ahalup, Major of the Tuhihal Regiment, and Thangal, born of the Kangbam caste, Steward of Laifam, Major of the Tulinaha Regiment, with whom were General Nuthall, 130 officers, and 2,000 muskets.

"They took as tribute elephant tusks and gongs and dedicated this brine spring and carved here these foot-prints of his Highness.

"They subdued the following Hao‡ villages: Poiboi, Lengkhaim, Dambam, Bumhang, &c., in all 112 villages, and including Thankalet, the Lushai, they captured four Chiefs and one village.

"Written by Nong Chamba Dhormeshwar, Wahengba, Sijjamocha, Pratap Singh and Gokul Chundra, chief salt agent."

This stone was visited by Mr. Carey and Mr. Porteous in 1894 and a translation as here recorded was furnished by Mr. Porteous, Political Agent in Manipur.

Besides the stone known as Chandra Kirti Singh's stone, there are two others close beside it—one on which is inscribed 'General Nuthall, Political Agent, 1872,' and the other stone bears no inscription, but on it is carved the form of two men, probably intended to represent the two Manipur Majors. On General Nuthall's stone is engraved a large dog and on the Maharajah's stone is engraved the emblem of the Manipur State, an animal neither horse, unicorn, nor deer, though its form is that of a horse bridled and saddled with a horn protruding from the forehead and also deer's horns. In front of both General Nuthall's and the Maharajah's stone are carved in solid rock the naked foot-prints of a man."

It will be noticed that the Manipuris claim to have done more conquering than our records credit them with.

The Soktes say that the ivory tusks alluded to were given as ransom for Nokatung.

⁴ See page 20.

* "The Chins call the Manipuris 'Mete,' being a corruption of the word Meithees."

† Chaithapa, literally "year releaser," a man selected yearly by the Rajah to give his name to the year and to suffer vicariously all the misfortunes which might otherwise befall the Rajah and country.

‡ "Hao," general Manipuri term for all hillmen. The Chins have adopted the term and corrupted it into "Haul," designating "Nagas" or hillmen other than "Kukies."

The Sokte version is that the Manipur army entered the hills by following the course of the Tapai¹ stream, and they were at once met by a Sokte deputation, and it was arranged that their differences should be discussed with a view to an amicable settlement. The Manipur river was chosen as the place for parley, and on this river, just north of the mouth of the Yangdum-lui, the Manipuris encamped. The earthworks thrown up around the camp still exist and were visited in 1894 by the Political Officer.

The Majors declared that Yetol's sword had been placed in their hands as a token of the submission of the Sokte tribe. But the Chins deny this and say that, as far as they understood the whole proceeding, the Majors never intended to fight, but merely to treat in a friendly manner, and that the only weapon which changed hands was that with which a dog was killed by the Manipuris to cement the friendship of the two independent rulers: the knife or sword was given to Kanviel of Tiddim who, with the Manipuri priest, performed the ceremony of swearing friendship over the blood of the animal.

That the Manipuris pitched their camp on the Manipur river and far from Mwelpi and Lormpi, appears to bear out also the Soktes' statement that the Manipur army did not advance to within any dangerous distance of Chin villages; and it is quite possible that the Chins allowed a small party of 20 men to visit Mwelpi and Lormpi, as such a proceeding could not endanger the safety of the villages.

Throughout the negotiations the Soktes were not desirous to fight, considering that they had nothing to gain thereby, but they were determined not to allow the Manipuris to advance south of the Yangdum stream, and this the Majors did not apparently feel inclined to do.

The negotiations ended in the exchange of captives and promises of peace in the future, which the Soktes did not for a moment intend to respect, and the next year the Political Agent described them as "more aggressive and arrogant than before," and to prevent their inroads four new thanas were constructed on the south of the plains.

The Soktes account for their conduct by explaining that they were kept fully informed of all that was going on in Manipur, and that they had received incontestable information that the Maharajah was seriously discussing the question of annexing the Sokte tract. As they had no intention of submitting to the Manipuri yoke, Kochim, in council, directed all who acknowledged his overlordship to kill every Manipuri whom chance or design might deliver into their hands. It was in pursuance of this policy that the Thados of Lunya² (Bwankwa) persuaded the Munkot³ Chief and his followers to enter the Chin Hills, under the belief that he was to receive some Manipuris who were held captive at Tiddim. On arrival at Tiddim, Kochim⁴ himself assisted in killing the Manipuris.

No more expeditions were sent by Manipur against the Soktes who, however, never ceased until 1892 to raid on the plains in a spasmodic manner. Some years the Maharajah's territory was entirely free from raids and during others a

¹ Known to the Manipuris as the Chakpi.

² Called Noongeah in Manipur records.

³ Called Mungote in Manipur records.

⁴ Kochim is spoken of as Khochim in the Manipur records. The Manipuris do not seem to have recognized that Kochim and not Yetol was Chief of the Kanhowas.

series of aggressions occurred. Gradually, however, the raids became less fierce and less frequent. This was due in a great measure to the Sokte tract being over-peopled, which necessitated migration northwards.

In 1877-78 Colonel Johnstone reported that 2,000 persons migrated into Manipur territory who, though not actually "Sooties, lived in villages of their own among the Sooties."

These people were Nwitès living around the present site of Tiddim, who for the last eighteen years have steadily moved north and founded large villages on the north-eastern border of Lushai and Manipur territory. We know them by the tribal name of Nwitè and by the nick-names of Malte and Tornglorngte.¹ These people were related to the Soktes by marriage and, through intercourse with the plains, became friendly with the Moirang and Shuganu villages, and they thus became a buffer between the Soktes and Manipur, more substantial than McCulloch's "sepyo villages" and more effective than Johnstone's thanas.

During Kochim's reign, raids into Burma were of annual occurrence. Many of these raids were undoubtedly committed by Sokte raids on the Thados and Nwitès without the consent and cognizance of the Sokte Chiefs. An incident, however, occurred which transformed the desultory raids into organized tribal attacks on the plains. It appears that Burmans offered to ransom a captive who had been carried to the hills in Kanhow's time, and having secured the slave, they refused to pay the ransom; this so incensed the Soktes that they swooped down into the plains and raided Ateywa, Kambale, Kyigôn, Sameikôn, and Kabungyon. Raids continued to be of yearly occurrence until we occupied the hills.

Kochim did not profess allegiance to the Sawbwa of Kale, but Yetol is known to have taken him elephant tusks as a mark of friendship on his own part.

Kochim had no wars with Falam or Kwungli, but was worsted by the Whenohs and Yahows in a large raid in 1876. The

Fighting with Whenohs. Whenohs,² some 300 strong, suddenly attacked Tunzau village and killed or carried off 29 persons: the Soktes quickly organized and, taking a short cut to the Imbukklang, lay in ambush for the raiders, whom they attacked, but without success, the Whenohs making good their retreat, and carrying off their captives,³ whilst the Sokte Chief Howpow⁴ was killed.

Present position of Soktes and Kanhow's.

Yapow, the Sokte Chief, died in 1882 and was succeeded by Dok Taung,⁵ his youngest son.

At the time of Yapow's death the Sokte power had considerably diminished, for, besides the Nwitès, who had migrated north, others of that tribe now crossed the river and settled in what we now call the "Nwengal country." This migra-

¹ The names of "Mal" and "Tornglorng" are given by the Soktes to the tract of country in which lie the large group of villages, the principal of which is Losow.

² Satorn, Sepi, Lotalorn, Seyat, Shellum, Taunghwe, Kopishi, and Dalang villages.

³ One of these was recovered by the Political Officer in 1892.

⁴ Howpow, brother of Kochim and father of Howchinkup, the present Kanhow Chief.

⁵ The present Chief.

tion westwards was not confined to Nwitè, but Soktes¹ in considerable numbers also left their original villages on the left bank of the river and divided their allegiance between the Sokte Chiefs, who were their lawful rulers, and the Falam Chiefs, in whose territory they now settled down.

Kochim's rule in his latter years was much weakened by the behaviour of his brothers, whom he allowed to leave his capital and reside in outlying villages² where, surrounded by their immediate following, they worked for their own interests at the expense of the interests of a united Sokte tribe.

When Major Raikes destroyed Tiddim and the Kanhow villages in 1889, Kochim was the Chief of the Kanhows, and Dok Taung Chief of the Soktes administered from Molbem. Kochim died in September 1891 and, having no issue, the chieftainship fell to Howchinkup, the young son of Kochim's elder brother Howpow (deceased). After Kochim, Howpow was the next junior son of Kanhow.

Dok Taung, the son of Yapow, now rules the Soktes, and Howchinkup, the lawful though indirect heir to his grandfather Kanhow, rules the Kanhows. Howchinkup is nominally subordinate to Dok Taung, the recognized head of the family; but since the Chin-Lushai expedition of 1889-90 the old customs have been neglected and so Dok Taung governs his villages and Howchinkup is the absolute ruler of all those who are professed Kanhows.

The story of our dealings with the Soktes has already been told in previous chapters, and it remains but to invite future Political Officers to stand by young Howchinkup and to help him to control his clan; he is a well-dispositioned youth, but weak in character and easily led away; therefore kind treatment and frequent communication with him are necessary. Unless his tribesmen recognize that the Political Officers are determined to support their Chief, they will get out of hand. Howchinkup deserves good treatment at our hands, for we should forget his boyish behaviour in 1891, especially as he received a heavy punishment. Since then he not only remained loyal during the Siyin-Nwengal rebellion, when his relations either played a double game or declared openly for the enemy, but he has almost unassisted disarmed the Kanhow clan.

In our dealings with Dok Taung, the Sokte Chief, we must never expect great things of him; he has ever shown a timid disposition and a weak character; he should be kept as the figurehead of the Soktes as his birth-right demands. But the Assistant Political Officer at Tiddim will in reality have to administer the Sokte villages in his name. It is important that Dok Taung should settle down at Molbem and collect his people under him again, and that he should win back the position in the land which his forefathers held and which he has to a great extent lost.

¹ Twum Tong, the Chief of Saiyan, crossed into the Nwengal country with a large following and founded the village of Kaptyal, which contained 300 houses.

² Yetol lived at Tanka, Lintang at Bomyan, and Tumlyin at Twelzan, each collected tribute on his own behalf in addition to what was paid to Kochim, and this fact had much to do with the abnormal migration which occurred in Kochim's reign.



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History of India, China, and Japan, 1900.

24. SIYIN CHIEFS.

CHAPTER XI.

THE HISTORY OF THE SIYIN TRIBE.

Origin and distribution of the Siyins.

THE origin of the progenitors of the Siyin tribe is, according to the natives, shrouded in mystery. Tradition states that a gourd fell from the heavens and, bursting with the fall, emitted a man and woman; these became the Chin Adam and Eve, and their garden of Eden was Chin Nwe,¹ a village already mentioned. This story is not peculiar to the Siyins, but is believed by all the tribes in the Northern Chin Hills.

As the Sokte forefathers left the first village and moved south, thus earning the name of "Sok" Te,² so the Siyins moved east and settled near some alkali springs, after which the sept was given the general name of "She" = alkali and "Yan" = side. The "Sheyante"³ has been corrupted into "Siyin" by the Burmans and we have accepted their pronunciation for general use. The Siyins are called "Taute" or "Taukte" by the Lushais and Southern Chins, "Tau" meaning "stout" or "sturdy" and "te" is the plural affix implying "people."

Neyan of Chin Nwe is the father of the Siyin tribe; he lived 13 generations ago and he had three sons, Ne Nu, Vamlok, and Daitong; these three together left the nursery of the Northern Chins, migrated some 12 miles to the east, and founded the two villages of Limkai⁴ and Twantak.⁵

Vamlok is the progenitor of the three communities which we classify as the Limkai, Toklaing, and Bweman clans, and Ne Nu is the progenitor of the clan we designate as the Siyin clan of the Siyin tribe, though it would be more correctly named if we called this family the Twantak clan.

Vamlok had three sons, Hansook, Toklaing, and Limkai. Hansook founded Tavak village, Toklaing founded Vumyang village, whilst Limkai remained in the original village of that name.⁶

Ne Nu had one son named Lamtam, who lived in Twantak, the village founded by his father Ne Nu and his uncle Daitong.⁷ Lamtam's youngest son Neyal moved from Twantak and founded Koset⁸ village, which nine

¹ Nine miles from Tiddim.

² Meaning the people who went down or below.

³ Te = people.

⁴ Limkai was founded by Vamlok. The present village of Limkai lies south of the Nattan stream; Vamlok's village was near Koset.

⁵ Twantak was founded by Ne Nu and Daitong.

⁶ The Twantaks and Toklaings, including the Bwemans, never moved off the banks of the Luipi stream before 1889, when they were driven into scattered settlements; and, although they claim to have lived at different times in Vumyang, Mwiton, Twantak, Loto, Lope, Lopehwin, Koset, and Tavak, the sites of all these villages are still found and are within a few hundred yards of each other; of all these villages, with the exception of old Limkai, only Vumyang, Koset, and Mwiton figure prominently in the history of the tribe.

⁷ Daitong's descendants are still found; they are, however, of no importance in the tribe and it is not necessary to follow their antecedents.

⁸ Koset, i.e., "Kwa" = village, "sat" = east; therefore the eastern village of the tribe.

generations later was destroyed by the Siyins when attacked by General Faunce in 1889.¹ Four generations ago Koset emigrants founded Tannwe village.

Three generations ago some Koset people migrated to the eastern slopes of the Letha range and settled, with the Kale Sawbwa's permission, west of Nansoungpu in a village called Mwelnwum; the Siyins, however, took to cattle-lifting, the Bwemans destroyed the village and the emigrants returned to Koset. In 1884, in Kuppow's time, Hangswum of Koset migrated to the east of the Letha range and founded Maunglyin village, and at the same time Vumtang built Pimpi and Laihan. When Toklaing's grandson Sumsel was Chief of Vumyang, he moved the village bodily and founded the village of Mwitôn: this is the name of the present village commonly called Toklaing by the Chins as well as by us, the family name being used in preference to that of the village. In 1882 a small Toklaing settlement was built at Biale.

The Bweman clan sprang into existence when Kimlai, son of Toklaing, moved from Vumyang with a following and founded the village of Bunman,² which has been corrupted into Bweman by the natives. On account of smallpox Do Lyin in 1885 moved from Bweman to Tartan³ and founded a village of that name.

The Limkais remained in Vamlök's original village until the present Chief's grandfather Lanmang's time, when an acute quarrel occurred over the right to work certain lands between the Limkais and Bwemans, which resulted in the Limkais abandoning their village and rebuilding a new one on the present site, south of the Nattan stream.

The village is known as Limkai or Sagyilain,⁴ a corruption of "Satkyi" and "lain." Satkyilain was the name of the particular piece of jungle in which the Limkais built their new village. When General Faunce and Major Raikes conquered the Northern Hills they found the following villages in the Siyin country:—

Koset,⁵ inhabited by the Twantak family.

Toklaing,⁶ inhabited by the Toklaing family.

Sagyilain, inhabited by the Limkai family.

Bweman,⁷ inhabited by the Kimlai family.

Besides these villages there was one called Twiyan near the site of our No. 3 Stockade, inhabited by the last remnant of the Vaïpe tribe. After their village was destroyed the inhabitants no longer lingered, but migrated north and over our borders, where they rejoined their tribesmen, who had long before moved north out of the Siyin and Sokte country.

General Faunce and Major Raikes destroyed every village in the Siyin tract. During the next two years the tribe surrendered and settled down as follows.

¹ The village which General Faunce attacked was not the actual village founded by Lamtang; this village was destroyed by the Tashons; the village-site, however, was the same and the people who inhabited the village in 1889 were the descendants of Lamtang.

² "Bun" means earth or clay, "man" means adhesive; hence clay.

³ Also called "Taitan."

⁴ "Satkyi" is the Siyin for "barking deer" and "lain" means "thorn," and the whole implies a patch of thorny bushes in which barking deer were formerly abundant.

⁵ With settlements at Pimpi, Laihan, Tannwe, and Maunglyin.

⁶ With settlement at Biale.

⁷ With settlement at Tartan.

The Limkai clan settled in Sagyilain; the Toklaing clan lived in the three villages of Pomba, Shark, and Yo; the Bweman clan lived in Vòkla and Narlpi; whilst the Twantak family (Siyin clan) was scattered in the six villages of Koset, Nashwin, Tannwe, Laibon, Pimpi, and Mòntòk, and several families settled with the Soktes in Yon, Phunum, and Kholai. At the close of the Siyin-Nwengal rebellion the Siyins were collected into families and settled down in five large villages; the Limkais remained in Limkai or Sagyilain, the Bwemans were collected into one village at Vòkla; the Toklaings were all settled on the original village-site of Mwitòn (Toklaing); and the Twantak family were collected and settled down in Koset and Lope.

The (Siyin clan) Twantak family is descended from Ne Nu, and the Limkai, Toklaing, and Bweman families are all the direct descendants of Ne Nu's younger brother, Vanlok, and thus the whole tribe is merely one family. When we occupied the country we found the inhabitants divided into four clans: Limkai, Bweman, Toklaing, and Twantak (Siyin), each controlled by its own Chief and each Chief independent of the other. We have recognized the custom and have appointed or recognized the Chiefs of the four clans according to the customs of the tribe.

At the present moment only one out of the four Chiefs whom Major Raikes found administering the country is still in power. Linkam, the Bweman Chief, was killed in action at Tartan in 1889, and was succeeded by Pow Kai. Kamlung, Chief of the Toklaings, who enticed Myoók Maung Tun Win to his village to be murdered in 1892, died in jail and was succeeded by Nokatung. Kuppow, the Chief of the Twantak family (Siyin clan), was deposed and deported to a jail in Burma for instigating the Siyin rebellion of 1892, and he was succeeded by Lyin Vum, the lawful successor. Wang Lon, Chief of Limkai, is the only Chief whom we found Chief of a clan, who retains his position, and he has been a staunch ally of ours through many trying months of warfare.

Course of Siyin history in the time of the Twantak Chief No-man.

The history of the Siyin tribe before No-man's reign is not exciting; the tribe was small and not in position to annoy its neighbours. No-man Chief of the Twantaks. In No-man's reign, however, the Siyins waged war in Lushai, fought against the Manipur army in 1857, and had no less than six wars with the Tashons, in three of which the latter and the Burmans were allies. On one occasion the Siyins were divided against themselves and No-man had to face the united forces of the Tashons, Burmans, Soktes, and Limkais.

The village of Lope, which was built by Somman and inhabited by Twantaks, was the first cause of the first war with the Tashons, for Lua Twam, the Chief, purchased a gun from the Yahows and then tried to evade payment. The Tashons took up the quarrel of their tributaries and, although Lope paid a slave in satisfaction, they determined to subdue the Siyins and make them tributary to Falam. The Tashons brought a huge force and completely surrounded Lope village, blocking all the nullahs; resistance was out of

¹ Lope village was founded by Somman and was destroyed by the Tashons when Lua Twam, Somman's son, was Chief. Lua Twam's grandson, Kuplien, rebuilt the village after the Siyin-Nwengal rebellion. The people call themselves "Kimiei" "te" to distinguish themselves from the Twantaks of Tavak. Kimiei was an elder brother of Neyal, from whom the Chiefs of the Siyin clan spring, and the Kimieis of Lope and Twantaks are really one and the same branch of the Siyin tribe.

the question, and the entire population with the exception of 14 persons was captured or killed. These captives were taken to Falam and were distributed amongst the surrounding villages as slaves. Lua Twam himself was one of the 14 who escaped. He succeeded in ransoming his wife, and she is the only one who is reported to have returned from captivity. The result of this raid was that Lope was destroyed and the few remaining people settled in Koset, and now for the first time the Siyin tribe paid tribute to Falam.

The next war was the result of cattle-stealing in the Kale valley, for the Burmans, as a reprisal, enticed some Siyins to the plains and killed them.¹ In revenge the Siyins raided a Norn Chin village in the Kale valley and carried off three captives, and as they were Norns and tributary to Falam, the Tashons demanded their release, which the Siyins refused. The Sawbwa and the Tashons then arranged to attack Koset. The Tashon force included Yahows, Kwanlis, and Whenohs, and at night quietly surrounded the village. At the first sign of dawn they swooped down on to the village and, having forced an entrance, they killed and captured 150 Siyins. The Tashons carried off their captives and burnt the houses. Three days later the Burman force arrived at Koset and finding the place already burnt, they contented themselves with destroying planks and odds and ends which had escaped the Tashons, and then returned to the plains.

After the destruction of Koset the Twantaks moved to Mwitôn and settled down with the Toklaings. They formed a large village and having well fortified it they considered themselves able to resist any army which might be sent against them. Further contests with the Tashons. They therefore refused to pay tribute to Falam and furthermore attacked and destroyed the outlying Tashon villages of Kowtan, Paiyal, Lonhaw, and Shimyaul, carrying off many captives; they also attacked Bwelkwa and Shinshi, but were driven off, though these villages afterwards surrendered and paid them tribute. The Tashons were naturally annoyed at the conduct of the Siyins and decided to stop their conquests in the south, and to reduce them to a proper state of subordination, and with this object they raised a large army, recruited largely in the Yahow and Whenoh country, and advanced against Mwitôn. The Siyins, however, were prepared for the attack and went out to meet the Tashons, whom they ambushed, killing Lyin Boi, the uncle of Sonpek, one of the leading Chiefs of Falam. The Tashons were unable to gain the village and eventually retreated after destroying some standing crops.

The Tashons returned to their villages and the Falam Chiefs addressed the Sawbwa with a view of reducing the Siyins to subjection. The united armies of the Tashons and Burmans² then marched against Mwitôn and attacking before daylight they broke into the village and killed and carried off 95 persons. The Siyins after this defeat surrendered to the Tashons and paid tribute triennially to Falam.

¹ The Burmans state that the Sawbwa Maung Chin Di is responsible for this outrage and that ten Siyins were treacherously killed. They give the date as 1215 B.E. (1856).

² The Burmans confirm this story, but consider that the Siyins have over-estimated their losses; they say that Mindewa, a Burman "tat boh," was killed and also one boy. They fix the date at 1220 B. E. (1859). The Burman force was four hundred strong.

No-man then rebuilt Koset and settled there with the Twantak family, whilst the Toklaings rebuilt and lived in Mwitôn. **Massacre of Chins at Kale.** Mwelnwum at this time was a small settlement of 40 houses inhabited by some Twantak families, west of Nansoungpu and Ateywa. The village had a reputation for buffalo-stealing in the plains, and so the Burmans, in consultation with the Tashons, agreed to destroy it and devised an ingenious, but disgraceful, plan of getting rid of the Siyins. They invited all the able-bodied men to Kalemwo to assist them in an expedition against Koset, which they said was in contemplation. Thirty-seven Chins went to Kalemwo and were feasted until they were drunk, when the Burmans cut them all down with das.

The Burmans and Tashons then went to Mwelnwum and surrounded the village, killing and capturing 150 persons¹ and destroying the whole place; seven persons only escaped and fled to Koset.

Civil war among the Siyins. The next attack on the Siyins was the result of civil war and originated from the theft of a gun. Hankim of Lope lost a gun and Hantum of the same village, being suspected of the theft, ran to the Bwemans for protection, the Toklaings left their village and joined the Twantaks at Koset; meanwhile the Limkais took the part of the Bwemans and the four clans, two on each side, commenced raiding each other's villages and cultivation. The Limkais and Bwemans then appealed for assistance to the Soktes against Koset, and the Soktes applied to the Tashons, and the Tashons to the Burmans, with the result that the Soktes, Tashons, Limkais, Bwemans, and Burmans from the Kale State all united against No-man and simultaneously advanced on and surrounded his village in the day time.

The Siyins held their village² and fought for two days and one night.

Attack on Koset. On the second day the Burmans made a rush at the village and broke through the fence and set fire to six

¹ Aung Paw *alias* Han Kip, the notorious Mōntōk raider, states that his curious experiences commenced at Mwelnwum, where he was living, an orphan with his brother. He was carried off and together with another boy was handed over to the Tashons by the Burmans to compensate them for the powder and ball expended in the expedition. Aung Paw was taken to Falam, where he remained for one year as a slave; he was then sold to Maung Kyaw Nya, brother of the then Thugyi of Sihaung, who treated him as a son and placed him in a pōngyi kyaung to be taught and where he wore the yellow robe. When he left the kyaung he had the misfortune to wish to marry the same girl as the then Indin Thugyi Maung Aung Gaung, and so the thugyi tried to get him into trouble, with the result that he returned to the Chin Hills and the thugyi married the girl. Aung Paw lived in Koset and took his revenge by guiding a raiding party against Indin, which, however, failed to destroy the village. Aung Paw nevertheless had his revenge as he raided the plains incessantly and he was one of our most formidable foes in 1888, 1889, and 1890, and again in 1892. He is now disarmed and harmless and is getting too old to care for continuing his past feuds with Burma.

² The Burman version of this fight is as follows. In 1228 B. E. (1867) the Kale Sawbwa Maung Yit, at the request of the Tashons, sent an army into the hills to attack Koset. Maung Yit was in command of the forces numbering 800 men, the Tashon force numbered 1,000. Koset village was duly surrounded, but the Siyins fought so determinedly that the united forces could not take the village. Some Burmans managed to reach the village and set fire to a house, and the fire spreading, about half the village was destroyed. A parley then took place, and the Siyins promised a mithun and some grain to the Tashons, who then retired, and the Burmans considered it wise to accompany them and to return to Burma through Tashon territory. One Burman was killed in the attack and several Tashons. The fact of the Burmans retiring *via* Falaro and leaving their rations inclines one to believe that the united forces were defeated and that No-man did not surrender.

houses, but the Twantaks and Toklaings drove them from the village. The fight continued until nightfall when, under cover of the darkness, the attacking host retired. The Burmans accompanying the Tashons out of the Siyin country, eventually returned to the plains *via* Lumin and *via* Falam. Three days later a large party of Burmans arrived at the summit of the Letha range with rice for the Burman force. They were unaware that the army had retired as it had taken an unknown route to the plains. The Twantaks and Toklaings at once attacked the Burmans, seized their rice, killed some twelve ¹ of them and captured five guns. The Burmans fled back to the plains.

No-man only once carried arms against the Manipuris when he assisted the Soktes to repel the attack on Tiddim in 1857. The Fighting with Manipur. fight has been described in the chapter dealing with the Soktes. The Siyins say that having so easily overthrown the Maharajah's troops on that occasion, they were encouraged to resist the British troops 31 years later.

No-man and the Twantaks and Toklaings did not raid in the Champai tract of Lushai, and those Siyins who accompanied the Sokte raiding parties into Lushai were the Limkais and the Bwemans.

No-man died at a great age and was succeeded by Kuppow, his third son (the youngest being dead).

The Siyins under Kuppow.

Kuppow at once prosecuted his father's feud with Burma, and at the head of the three clans ² of Twantak, Toklaing, and Bweman he attacked and destroyed Kalembo, carrying off even the pöngyis into captivity. At this time a Wun was in temporary charge of the Kale State. He raised an army to destroy the Siyins, enlisting the sympathies of the Soktes and Tashons in his cause, and at the same time making friendly overtures to the Limkais to ensure their neutrality during the campaign. The Tashon army, drawn as usual from the Yahows and Whenohs, as well as from the Tashon villages, marched to Sagyilain, where it was joined by the Soktes under Yapow, Kochim, and Yetol.

Whilst the allies were awaiting the approach of the Burman force from the east, the Limkais informed Kuppow that he was surrounded, as the Tashons lay on his south, the Soktes would advance from the west, whilst one Burmese force was marching down from the north and another approaching from the east.

Kuppow considering his position desperate decided to use diplomacy to at once save his village and defeat his enemies the Burmans. He therefore sent profuse professions of friendship to the Soktes and Sagyilains and an expression of submission to the Tashons. He promised also a slave each to Falam, Yapow of Molbem, and Twankam, Chief of Sagyilain, if the Chin forces would withdraw.³ The Tashons and Soktes accepted Kuppow's messages as satisfaction and returned to their homes.

¹ The Burmans confirm this story, and state that of 75 men who carried rice to the hills only 53 returned.

² The Limkais did not take part in this raid.

³ Kuppow did not keep his promise.

Kuppow then set out to meet the Burmans and attacked them on the Letha range¹ and entirely overthrew them and chased them back to Burma. The Siyins state that they took four heads, two prisoners, one cannon, two guns, and all the baggage of the force. Kuppow then started out to meet the second Burmese army, which was advancing on Koset from the north; but it had already heard of the overthrow of the eastern force and retreated through the Sokte tract back to the plains, paying the Soktes a bribe for assisting them in their retreat.²

This was the last Burmese attempt before our occupation of Upper Burma. The next foreign force to enter the Siyin tract was that under General Faunce in 1888-89. The Siyins say that they never raided in Burma before the time when Kanhow was Chief of the Kanhows and No-man was Chief of the Twantaks. The same cause which urged Kanhow to ravage the plains impelled No-man to do likewise, the cause being that a deputation which was sent by Kanhow to the Sawbwa of Kale, with a slave, on the occasion of the Sawbwa Kadow's death, was foully slain at Yazagyo.

In No-man's first wars the Siyins were chiefly armed with spears, and hence their heavy losses. No-man, however, realized that the Siyins were but a small community and that to hold its own it must be well armed. During his lifetime the Siyins first became possessed of arms, procured for the most part from Burma. In Kuppow's time the majority of guns acquired by the tribe came from the west and were purchased from the Lushais.

The deadly feud with Burma, which commenced in No-man's time owing to the murder of Chins in the Kale valley, was prosecuted originally from motives of revenge. But the Siyins soon discovered that raiding was profitable also, as the captives whom they carried off could be ransomed for guns. In No-man's time the Siyins armed themselves by capturing Burmans, whom they exchanged for guns, sulphur, lead and iron.

In Kuppow's time the tribe was fully armed and the raids were perpetrated to acquire slaves to cultivate the fields and do all menial offices. To quote

¹ The fight took place at the same spot which the Siyins held so doggedly against General Faunce's advance in 1889.

² It is said that Re. 1 per man was paid to the Soktes for granting the Burman force safe conduct through the Sokte tract back to Burma.

The Burman version as given by an Amat who accompanied the expedition is as follows: In Kasón 1239 B. E. (1878) we set out to attack Koset village. Our force was 1,500 strong, divided into two columns. The first was composed of men drawn from Mingyin, Taungdwin, Kale, and Yaw, 1,000 strong, and commanded by the Kampat Wun, Maung Pauk Tun. This column marched west from Kalemmyo with its objective Koset. The second column, 500 strong, was commanded by Maung Shwe Maung of Kendat, head clerk of Kalemmyo; under Maung Shwe Maung were three Bos, Maung Min Gaung, Maung Tet Po, and Maung Shwe Bu. The force was drawn from the following centres: Tein Nyin 70, Legayaing 100, Kalewa 70, Yazagyo 160; besides these the Van Aung Min Wundauk sent 100 Ye Ahmudans collected from the Chindwin who were commanded by the Legayaing Sitke.

The column advanced from Nansoungpu up the Nataga stream to Tiddim, where it was met by the brothers of the Chief Kochim, who guided the column south to Shwimpi, which village the Soktes declared was not under Kuppow but under Kochim. Therefore it was not attacked. Shortly after the arrival at this village news was brought in that Kuppow had routed the Kalemmyo force, so the column at once retreated, the Bos considering that it was not sufficiently strong to move alone against Koset. The northern column returned without fighting and made suitable gifts to the friendly Soktes. The Kalemmyo column lost 27 killed and two or three were taken prisoners.

the Siyin expression, "A man should spend his life in fighting, hunting, and drinking, whilst labour is intended for women and slaves only."

Experience has taught us that we should not allow the Siyins to scatter in small hamlets, and for years to come it will probably be necessary to confine them to large villages placed near our posts and out of sight of their once happy raiding grounds in Burma.

We have also learnt that the Siyin is a thief by nature and must not be trusted. Owing to the great difficulty in detecting offences it is very advisable to hold the whole tribe responsible for every theft which is committed in Siyin territory, unless the offender is handed up for punishment. We have found that this policy has answered well during the past two years, and the Siyins have begun to look for no mercy at our hands when they steal our property.

To Political Officers of the future the following advice is ventured. Never pardon a Siyin for any offence, never allow Kaikam to return to Chinland, and never forget that we owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mang Lon, the Sagyi-lain Chief, who stood by us and assisted us during years of great anxiety and when the Siyins were armed and formidable

CHAPTER XII.

HISTORY OF THE THADOS, YOS, AND NWITÈS.

The Thado Tribe.

THE hillmen, known as the Kukis or Khongjais, live for the greater part north of the Chin Hills boundary line and in hill territory belonging to Manipur, but as they are our northern neighbours, and also because we have six Kuki villages in the Kanhow jurisdiction, it may be interesting to give a short account of these people. The Manipuris call the Kukis Khongjai, and class them as either "old" or "new" according to the date when they settled down under Manipuri rule. The Chins, however, know them only by the name of their original progenitor, Thado, though they divide them into various families, the chief of which is the Mangvum family, which is at the present day found inhabiting the villages of Lormpi (Mombce), Twelbung, Ewankwa, Sinnum, Saivum, and Shimwell, all under Manipur. Other and less aristocratic families are the Vumlu and Vumtam, which are found in Kainzoi and Kwun Kam (Savum Kwa) in Manipur territory, and in Hianzan, Balbil, Haitsi, Hanken, and Halkum in the Chin Hills. There can be no doubt that the Chins and the Kukis are one and the same race, for their appearance, manners, customs, and language all point to this conclusion.

The late Colonel McCulloch, who was Political Agent in Manipur for many years, wrote a small book in 1859 called "An account of the valley of Manipore and of the Hill Tribes." This book is now out of print and unprocurable. McCulloch's account of the Kukis is so interesting and instructive that we reproduce it here. Besides this short account a list of Thado villages visited by the Political Officer of the Chin Hills and a road report are incorporated in the accompanying Gazetteer.

"The Khongjais or Kookies until lately (1859) occupied the hills to the south of the Koupooes. Whilst in this position, little or nothing of them was known, but they caused fear from their numbers and the bloody attacks they sometimes made upon their neighbours. South of them lay the Poi,¹ Soote,² Loosei,³ and other tribes, better armed than they were, and of the same genus as themselves, but at feud with them. By these they were driven from their native hills, the task being rendered easier by the internal animosities of the Khongjais themselves, and are now scattered around the valley of Manipore, and thence through the hills to North and South Cachar.

The Khongjais bring their progenitors from the bowels of the earth, and they relate the manner of their reaching its surface thus: One day their King's brother was hunting hedgehogs, when his dog in pursuit of one entered a cavern, and he waiting its return remained at the mouth. After the lapse of some time the dog not having returned, its master determined to go in and see what had become of it. The dog he did not find, but observing its tracks and following them, he found himself suddenly on the surface of the earth. The scene presented to his view both pleased and astonished him. Returning to his brother he related his adventure, and counselled him to ascend with his village to the new country. To this the King agreed, and having made their arrangements they started on their journey. They had arrived near the surface when they found in the way a large serpent which opposed their further progress, and saw that the orifice by which they were to emerge had over it a great stone kept open merely by the support a bird gave it with its legs. On seeing this the people of the village began to abuse the King's brother, accusing him of having deceived them, and having brought them from their burrow to deliver them to the serpent. Stung with their reproaches the King's brother attacked and killed the snake, and he and the greater portion of the village emerged into the light. Meanwhile the King having discovered that a wooden dish or bowl which had the magical property of

¹ Yahows and Whenohs. |² Soktes. |³ Lushais.

always being full of meat, and some other articles of a similar magical description, were not amongst his effects returned to fetch them. Before he got back, the bird having got tired of supporting the stone had let it fall, and unable to raise it, he and his wife had to remain below. Attributing the close of the orifice to the ambition of her brother-in-law to become King, Nemnik, the King's wife, cursed him and those who had gone up with him to suffer from diseases hitherto unknown to them. This curse they say is still upon them, and when disease presses them sorely they sacrifice to Nemnik a mothin in mitigation of her wrath. Continuing the tale of the proceedings of their progenitors, they relate that the party who had reached the surface began to feel the cravings of mortals, and not knowing where to find water were becoming greatly distressed, when noticing a bird fluttering over a spot not far off, and going to see the reason for its doing so, they found a reservoir of that element, by the side of which they cooked. Having eaten and refreshed themselves they commenced clearing a spot for their houses. Whilst busy doing so their new King accidentally killed a child which had been playing in the jungle unknown to him. A choking sensation seized him and he became exceedingly ill. Pitying his master, his dog fawned upon him, and licked his hands. This, instead of pleasing, enraged him so that he dealt the animal a cut with his dao, and some of the blood spurting out on his throat he was relieved of his pain and recovered. Since then they say pains of the throat have been cured by sacrificing dogs and applying of their blood to the part.

In explanation of their separation into tribes with different languages, they relate that the three grandsons of the above Chief, while one day all playing together in their house, were told by their father to catch a rat, that they were busy about it, when being suddenly struck with a confusion of tongues, they were unable to effect their object.

The eldest son spoke the Lamyang, the second the Thado, and the third, some say, the Waiphe¹ and some the Manipore language. Thus they broke into distinct tribes. Although occupants of the hills to the south of the valley of Manipore, their traditions do not give the southern hills as the place of the origin, but rather lead them to the belief that it was in the north. I have before noticed the circumstance of the Koupooses believing themselves to be occupying the sites of villages which once belonged to the southern tribes, and as this belief tallies with the Khongjai idea that they came from the north, I might conjecture the latter had formerly occupied the position now occupied by the Koupooses, but the Khongjais themselves do not even hint this to be the case. They pay much attention to their genealogy, and profess to know the names of their Chiefs in succession from their leader out of the bowels of the earth up to the present time. About the names of those previous to Thado there may be doubt, but from this great Chief—from whom the whole race takes the appellation of Thado—I do not think there is any. The period of chieftainship of each they cannot tell, indeed neither they nor any of the hill tribes have any more certain way of counting years than by enumerating the spots where they had annually cultivated, and it is not to be expected that in a long series of years all these could be remembered. The Maniporee method even of noting years is but a little improvement on this: they annually select a person called Chaheetaba, whose name designates the year of his selection. Persons can repeat the names of all Chaheetabas from their commencement, and are able, if told in what Chaheetaba's times an event occurred, to say at once how many years have elapsed since its occurrence. But all do not carry in their memories the list of Chaheetabas, and whilst an individual may be able to say in what Chaheetaba's time an event occurred, he may be perfectly unable to state the number of years which may have passed since its occurrence.

Amongst the Khongjais themselves, the cream of the Thados, the Thados *par excellence* are male descendants of Thado in direct lineal descent. To these much respect is paid by the younger branches, who in token thereof present to the Chief of their particular branches one tusk of each elephant they may capture, these Chiefs again making a present to their superior the head of all. The present Chief of all the Thados is a young man named Kooding Mang. His genealogy and that of some other Chiefs I shall afterwards give. The Changsels and Thlungums do not belong to the Thado race, but are, the Thados say, of some ancient races, which were in existence before they arrived on the earth's surface. The Thlungums are distinct from the Changsels, and the Thados themselves are divided into the greater clans of Thado, Shingsol, Chongloi, Hangseen, Keeppen, Hankeep, from whom again have sprung many other clans inferior in rank but numerous as themselves, such as Chongfoot, Telnok, Holtung, Mangvoong,² Voongtung,³ &c.

¹ Vaiphe.² Mangvum. .³ Vumtam.

In their own hills, the different tribes appear to have kept quite separate. Some of their villages seem to have been of considerable size, but most of them to have contained only a few houses. Originally they were not migratory, but have assumed this character latterly. Since their expulsion from their own hills, the different tribes have become mixed up together in the villages situated in positions selected with reference to convenience of cultivation, but with little regard to healthiness. A village having around it plenty of land situated for cultivation and a popular Chief is sure soon by accessions from less favoured ones to become large, but that its inhabitants will remain in it is uncertain, for the ties by which they were held together in their native hills have been so rudely broken that they have scarcely existence, and any whim may lead to another village. Their villages are very different from those of the Koupooees and Quirengs; they have not the permanent look, nor are the houses so large or so substantially built. The Khongjais prefer woody spots for their village-sites, and their style of house is adapted to such a situation, but decidedly unadapted to more exposed positions. Their houses are usually small, all of them are gable-ended, and have raised floors, which and the walls are made of bamboo matting. Their Raja's house is generally larger than that of any of the others, and has, if possible, in front of it a space of level ground. It is surrounded by a stockade, and every other house in the village has a fence of some kind round it. The houses appear to be placed higgledy-piggledy, but in this apparent confusion there is really some order.

The tribes I have hitherto noticed have exhibited Chiefs hereditary, but without any power. Amongst the Khongjais this is not the case; their hereditary Chiefs or 'Housas' having a very considerable degree of power and receiving a revenue in kind and in service from their subjects. The revenue exacted is not the same in all the divisions of the Thado race, but the yearly payment of a basket of rice by the head of each house is common to all; besides this, one of each litter of pigs, or brood of fowls, is in many villages taken by the Raja. Some have taxes on marriages, and on the sale of property, as methins, and all on the produce of the chase. If the latter be an elephant, its right tusk, or if smaller game a hind quarter, goes to the Raja. The yearly service obligatory on the village is preparing a portion of ground for the Raja's cultivation, sowing, weeding, and reaping it. They also make his house and do many little jobs for him besides.

Supposing the Raja had a son; five days after his birth there would be a feast, when they would shave his head, name him, bore his ears, and his mother after proper ceremonies would tie some of the feathers of a red fowl which had been sacrificed to the gods as a charm about his neck. All his relations come to the feast, bringing with them what each is able of flesh and wine. When the boy has grown up he associates with the young men of the village, and joins in all their sports and pastimes. Yearly they brew wine called Lomyoo, and on its ripening they invite the young women of the village to a 'blow out.' If able, his father and mother now seek a wife for him, and she must be the daughter of a Raja. To her father they proceed, and presenting wine, they beg his daughter for their son. If he agrees the wine is drunk, what is to be given for the girl is asked, and a bargain concluded. The articles composing the girl's price are taken together with wine to her house, and her relations having killed a methin or a pig, they all eat of it together. The party who brought the girl's price contend with the young men of the village at their games, and if in this contention bones are broken no notice of it is taken. The games over, the girl must go to her husband's house. With this view she is dressed in all her finery, a gong is placed on her head as an umbrella, the hind leg of a methin and half of a pig are given to her, and having taken a sip of the well-fumigated water of the pipe bowl, she parts amidst tears with her family. On reaching her husband's house a feast is given to all who went for her. The eldest son on his marriage remains with his father; a younger son has a part of his father's subjects made over to him, and sets up for himself.¹ In the manner of obtaining a wife there is no difference between the Raja's son and his lowest subject, except that the latter has not to pay the same high price for his partner.

The Koupooees make no distinction between a boy and a girl in the period for ceremonies they perform after its birth, but the Khongjais do; a girl is not allowed to rest for five days, but in three after its birth is named, and has the other ceremonies performed.

¹ 'Housa' or 'Housapa' is also the Northern Chin word for a headman.

² Amongst the Siyins and Soktes the reverse is the rule: the elder sons go out into the world and found their own villages, whilst the youngest stays at home with his father and helps him, and at his death the youngest son inherits almost all the father's property and the chieftainship of the tribe or clan, his elder brothers becoming subordinate to and paying him the tribute which is due to the head of the tribe.

Does the earlier naming and piercing of the ears of a girl indicate less value being attached to girls than to boys? The Salique law rigorously prevails amongst the Khongjais, but the influence of woman is great amongst them. The wives of some of the Rajas manage all the affairs of their villages, apparently much to the satisfaction of their people, and widows during their son's minority often without dispute assume the management of affairs.¹

In his notes on North Cachar, Lieutenant Stewart has, I think, made a mistake in attaching 'objection' or 'ridicule' to the marriage of a Thado or Shingsol with a Changsel or Thlungum. The mother of Koodingkai, the head of all the Shingsols, was a Changsel, and so is his wife. The mother of Koodingmang, the head of all the Khongjais, is also a Changsel. I could instance many others, but that the heads of tribes would ally themselves with objects of ridicule is unlikely. Indeed, I believe the only reason why more alliances with the Changsels do not take place is the high price they demand for their daughters. But though I dissent from Lieutenant Stewart in this, I beg here to express my unfeigned admiration generally of that officer's description of the Kookies. I quote from it: 'The Kookies,' he says, 'are a short sturdy race of men with a goodly development of muscle. Their legs are, generally speaking, short in comparison to the length of their bodies, and their arms long. Their complexion differs little from that of the Bengalee and comprises various shades, but the features are most markedly dissimilar: the face is nearly as broad as long, and is generally round or square, the cheek-bones high, broad, and prominent, eyes small and almond shaped, and the nose short and flat with wide nostrils. The women appear more squat than the men even, but are strong and lusty, and quite as industrious and indefatigable as the Naga women, working hard all day either at home or in the fields, and accustomed to carry heavy loads. The men, like the Nagas, are inclined to be lazy, though not to such an extent as that tribe. They love to sit on high platforms raised for the purpose in their villages and pass the day in conversation and smoking. Men, women, and children all smoke to the greatest excess. A Kookie is hardly ever seen without a pipe in his mouth, and one of his few means of calculating time and distance is by the number of pipes he smokes. The men smoke a pipe, the bowi of which, either made of brass rudely ornamented or of the end of a small bamboo tube, a reed (it is like a reed but is a bamboo) being let in near the knot as a mouth-piece.'

The women have a bowl with water in it attached to their pipes, and the smoke in passing through impregnates the water with its fumes. This fumigated water is filled into little bamboo tubes and other reservoirs in which it is carried about by the men, who occasionally sip of it, retaining it in the mouth for some time before spitting it out again, and on meeting a friend, hand it to him as a mark of courtesy. They also chew tobacco in great quantities. They are filthy in person to an inconceivable degree. A cloth round the waist in the fashion of the Koupooes is worn by individuals, but generally this is dispensed with, and the only covering of the body is a coarse sheet in the disposing of which for the concealment of the person they are adepts. They all wear head-dresses or turbans of cotton cloth or silk, in the folding of which they are very expert. The women wrap a scanty strip of cloth round their persons sufficient to prevent them from being called naked, over their shoulders they throw a sheet, or if young wrap it round their bodies under the armpits. They have no head dress, but a luxuriant crop of not coarse hair, which is parted in the middle and plaited at the sides, the plaits being passed round the back of the head and tied in front over the forehead.

In the internal management of their affairs the Kookies do not differ much from the Koupooes; perhaps the former are less severe in the punishments they inflict for infractions of morality than the latter—an effect I believe of the power of their Rajas, but in other matters being in a similar state of civilization they are much alike. Their Rajas have certainly a good deal of power, which is at times misused, but generally they are under the necessity of exercising it so as not to offend their villages or offending them, run the chance of being deserted by them. A long period of insecurity has resulted in the habit of concealing their valuables in caves or holes dug in the earth, but their grain, &c., they store in their villages. Kookie rice is of a different and superior species to that of the other 'jhoom' cultivating tribes. They say it was given to them by Chingtung Komba, Raja of Manipur, who came amongst them during the wanderings enforced on him by the Burmese. If so, their rice is very probably that of the Manipore valley, modified by the alteration of soil and climate. Yams and other edible roots, Indian-corn, several kinds of grain adapted to high altitudes, and pulses of different sorts they cultivate in large quantities. The Thlungums and Changsels are greater rice-eaters than the

¹ This is also common in Lushai, but not amongst the Chins.

Thados, who again excel in that respect the Hankeep clans. They speak with much relish of a peculiar bean called 'Ga,'¹ which, after having been steeped for some days in a running stream, to take away its deleterious properties,² is boiled in water, the liquid forming an exciting drink without causing intoxication. Sickness is treated in the Kou-pooee fashion, and as amongst them, results sometimes in the slavery of the patient, the 'Mundoo' is found under the denomination of 'Longmul' and this payment for the dead is rigorously exacted.

The Khongjai in temperament differs from the Kou-pooee. This is shown at their rejoicings, in their dancing, and their music. The dancing of the Kou-pooee is of that lively nature which is laborious to its practicer, whilst that of the Khongjai is more sober. They both enjoy their own peculiar style of amusement, but perhaps a spectator would prefer the Kou-pooee dance to that of the Khongjai. If in this he gave the Kou-pooee the palm, it must again be yielded to the Khongjai for his minstrelsy. Their 'Kalapee' or old songs are in a dialect differing from their present spoken one, and the same is the case with the Kou-pooees.³

'The Kookies,' says Lieutenant Stewart, 'are great hunters and are passionately fond of the sport, looking upon it, next to war, as the noblest exercise for man. They kill tigers, deer, and small game by means of poisoned arrows. The bow is a small one made of bamboo, and very slightly bent, the string being manufactured of bark. The arrow, the head of which has a barbed iron point, is about eighteen inches long, being drawn to the chest and not the ear, and therefore delivered with no great force, the destructive effect lying chiefly in the poison. With such an instrument, the great art in hunting lies in stealthily approaching the animal near enough to deliver the arrow with effect and following it up after being wounded to the spot where it is found lying dead. In this the Kookies excel, being able to prowl about the jungle as noiselessly as tiger-cats and being equal to North American Indians in distinguishing tracks.' The elephant falls to the poisoned spear dropped on him from a tree in his path, and I have known them attack him, as Dr. Livingstone describes his party to have done, with common hand-spears, but their original methods of capturing this much-coveted animal are being deserted for the more sure and destructive means of fire-arms. The capture of an elephant, tiger, bear, wild hog, or any savage wild beast is followed by a feast in propitiation of its manes, and the capturer obtains a name.

Their customs on occurrence of a death are much the same as amongst the Kou-pooees, but they are less careful about the preparation of the last receptacle of the dead. In their own hills, what Lieutenant Stewart states was usual, namely, 'that the bodies of wealthy men or of Rajas are dried over a slow fire until the flesh gets smoked and hardened to the bone; they are then dressed and laid out and kept in this way for a month or two before being finally deposited in the earth. During the whole of this time the hospitality in the house of mourning is unbounded—methins, cows, buffaloes, horses, pigs, goats, and dogs being slain in numbers to feast the guests, portions of the flesh being likewise sent to distant villages where any friends of the family may reside.' The heads of all the animals slain together with those of enemies are placed under the body during the interval that elapses before it is buried, in the belief that in another world all those thus treated become the property of the deceased; hence the profusion of animals killed, and hence those sanguinary expeditions from which formerly so many suffered.

In their own hills the Khongjais describe themselves to have been most healthy and unacquainted with several diseases from which since their arrival in these parts they have suffered fearfully. The smallpox has done fearful havoc amongst them, and should that disease or the cholera appear in a village, it is scattered more effectually than it would be by an attack of its southern enemies. The person attacked by smallpox is not approached by any. He is put away by people who have had the disease into the jungle by himself, some food and water are placed beside him, and he is left to Providence.

Their attention to genealogy, the distinction of clans, and the respect paid to their seniors I have not noticed. Out of this may have sprung the only exclusiveness shown by the Khongjai, namely, in the point of who would be entitled to use his comb and whose comb he might use. This, though amongst them a very important matter, I cannot find to have any religious importance attached to it, but there is an indication of the

¹ The Aunlauk bean as we know it.

² Sulphur

³ And with the Chins.

⁴ The same custom is adopted by the Siyins, who, however, keep the body in the house for months before taking it to the graveyard.

superior rank in respect of descent or by connection, or of the estimation in which an individual is held or holds himself to be found in the persons to whom he would refuse his comb, or amongst whom his comb is common."

The Yo Tribe.

The Yo tribe three generations back occupied the tract of country now inhabited by the Kanhow clan of Soktes, and many of the Mixture of Yos and Soktes. Kanhow villages are inhabited still by Yos, whose tribal name has given way to that of "Kanhow." As has been shown in a previous chapter, Kantum, the Sokte, conquered all the inhabitants right up to the borders of Manipur, and Kanhow, his son, founded Tiddim village and ruled the newly acquired conquests of his father. The conquered Yos thus became known as "Kanhowte," Kanhow's men, and as they intermarried with the Soktes who settled north with Kanhow, there is now no real difference between the conquerors and the conquered. Soktes, Yos, and Kanhows are practically one people, though no Sokte Chief would admit that he is not of superior birth to a Yo. The Yos who still live in the Chin Hills are treated as Soktes. The great majority of them live in the Kanhow tract and are subordinate to Howchinkup. For many years past, as is shown in the Manipur records, numbers of emigrants crossed the Northern Chin border and settled down along the south of Manipur plain, west of the longitude of Howbi peak and in the hills south of Cachar. These Yos as well as the Thados and Nwitès are called by the Manipuris Kukis or Khongjais, who only made their acquaintance after they had migrated north, but the people call themselves by the name of Yo, and those who belong to the "Man Lun" family consider that they have a right to be proud of their birth.

In 1892 when the Political Officer explored the Northern Chin Hills as far as Manipur in the north, Lushai on the west, and the Kabaw valley on the east, he made a short gazetteer of all the Thado, Yo, and Nwitè villages. And although many of these villages were awarded to Manipur by the Chin-Manipur Boundary Commission in 1894, it appears advisable not to lose the information gained. The Yo villages subordinate to Manipur, which are known to us, are therefore entered in the gazetteer which accompanies this volume under the heading "Yo villages subordinate to Manipur."

The Nwitè Tribe.

The Nwitès, in common with the Northern Chins, believe that they are the descendants of the man and woman who fell from the clouds on to the earth at Chin Nwe. From Manipur records and from the lips of old tribesmen we know that formerly the Nwitès owned large villages around the present posts of Tiddim. But now these village-sites are either deserted or occupied by Kanhows, and the Nwitès have left Chinland and have settled down on the southern border of Manipur and the north-east corner of Lushailand.

The Nwitès were conquered by Kantum, the Sokte Chief, and the greater portion of them quietly submitted to his rule, and after his death to that of his sons. But the land appears to have been incapable of feeding both the conquerors and the conquered, and therefore the latter had to give way. In the Administration Report of Manipur for 1877-78 it is stated that parties "to the number of over 2,000 persons belonging to the Soktes migrated

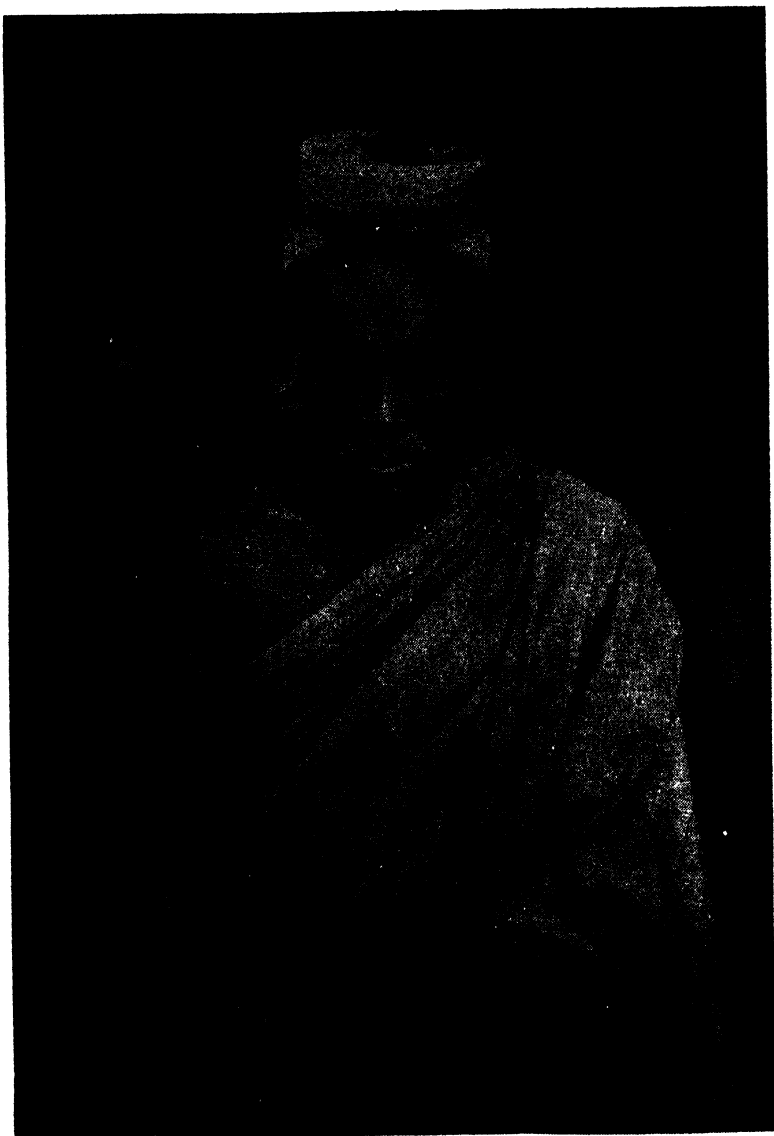


Photo-stamping.

Survey of India Office, Calcutta, November 1896

21. TYPE OF SOUTHERN CHIN CHIEF.

"during the year into Manipur territory, where they settled down on lands assigned to them by the Maharajah to the south-west of the valley." These persons were described as "not actually of the Sootie tribe, but belong to a Helot race living in villages of their own among the Sooties." These people were chiefly Nwitès. They migrated, by stages, northwards and we can now trace their course by the deserted ruins of large villages, and the heaps of stones and stone slabs which they set up as monuments in years gone by.

The Nwitès have not totally disappeared from the Chin Hills. The large village of Wunkathe is inhabited chiefly by Nwitès who, however, are subordinate to the Sokte Chief and who for all intents and purposes are Soktes. There are also Nwitès at Hele village in the Nwengal country, as well as a few families amongst the Kanhows.

About 1870 the great exodus of the Nwitès from around Tiddim occurred, the people moving by two routes, one party going north and settling down at and around Mwelpi, the site of an old Thado village, and the other party migrating into Lushai and settling down amongst the Lushais under the Chief Poiboi. Nokatung, or Kokatung, who, as already related, was seized by the Manipuris in the course of the Lushai expedition of 1871-72, was the Yo Chief of Mwelpi.

Nokatung had four sons, the eldest of whom was Sum Kam, who some years back led his people from Mwelpi to the Tornglorng country, where they are now found in several large villages, the principal of which is Losow, which contains fully 300 houses inhabited by Vaipes (Waipies), Soktes, and Nwitès.

Sum Kam became paralyzed and died in 1893, and his village, which was known usually as Sum Kam Kwa and also by the names of "Ting Tam" and "Tornglorng," is very much reduced in size and will probably soon be abandoned entirely, for his brothers, two of whom in the past have spent a few months in the Fort White quarter-guard, have now removed to Losow village.

The Tornlgorngs, or Nwitès, were visited in 1892 by the Chin Hills Political Officer, who also met several of their Chiefs again whilst engaged on the demarcation of the Chin-Manipur boundary, and therefore the short gazetteer of their villages which he compiled, together with a road report, is added to the gazetteer which accompanies this volume.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE TASHON TRIBE AND ITS TRIBUTARIES THE YAHOWS AND WHENOHS.

The Tashons.

It is probable that the information contained in this book, concerning the past history of the Siyin and Sokte tribes, is practically all that will ever be known about them, but the present history of the Tashons is incomplete, and can doubtless be largely added to in the future. The latter, instead of helping us to learn their antecedents, have put every obstacle in our way, even to the extent of threatening heavy penalties to any one who should disclose their past history and their present dealings with their subordinates and tributaries. They fear that if we understand how heavily burthened

Difficulty in obtaining information about the Tashons.

the people are with taxation and how down-trodden and bullied they are, we may interfere in their behalf, even in the same manner as we removed the Tashon yoke from the necks of the Siyin and Sokte tribes and declared them independent.

The Thados, as has been remarked, claim their origin from the bowels of the earth, and the Tashons also believe that their original parents stepped, not out of a burrow like the Thados, but out of solid rock. At Shunkla there is a large rock, and out of this the Tashons believe that a man and a woman came, who settling down close by became the parents of those who are now called the Shunkla tribe proper. The Tashons call themselves Shunkla after the name of the village which they believe their first parents started, building themselves the first house after emerging from the rock, and by this name they are known to all the southern tribes.

The Siyins and other northerners call them "Palamte" after their capital Falam. We have retained the name by which the tribe was known to the Burmans, namely, "Tashon." This word is the Burmese corruption of "Klashun," the name of the village immediately west of Falam, which was made the capital of the tribe after it had left the parent village of Shunkla and before the present magnificent capital was founded. This village Klashun, or Tashon, was confiscated and demolished by us in 1892, when we occupied Falam and required materials to build us a post. About four generations ago the ancestors of the Shunklas of Falam migrated from Shunkla and founded Klashun, and at the same time another family also quitted the nest and flitted to Saiyo. They had hardly got comfortably settled down before the Haka Chief Lien Norn, the great-grandfather of the present Chief Lyen Mo, attacked and destroyed both villages and scattered the inhabitants, who for years lived in settlements as fugitives. However, in course of time the Shunklas made their peace with the Hakas and returned to found a new village, which is the present Falam. If one asks the Tashon Chiefs why their forefathers moved from Klashun to Falam, they will unblushingly reply that the village was haunted by a virgin, who lived in the high rocks above the village, and who from time to time made herself apparent, and if any man's eyes fell on her he instantly languished and died. But although this story is undoubtedly credited by some, it was in reality not the virgin, but the Hakas who drove the Shunklas from Klashun.

After the Shunklas had founded Falam they gradually brought all their neighbours, both relations and aliens, under their control. When we occupied Chinland we found the Tashons numerically the most powerful tribe in the hills, though we believe that, had our occupation been deferred for two or three years, the Yahows would have broken from their bondage, and Rumklao and Minkin would have declared for Haka, in which case the Tashons would have suffered in prestige as well as in possessions. The Tashon tribesmen, unlike the Siyins and the Soktes, do not claim one common progenitor. They are a community composed of aliens, who have been collected under one family by conquest, or more correctly by strategy. The *esprit de corps* in the tribe therefore falls far short of that displayed in the Siyin, Sokte, and Thado tribes. The members of the Falam council are not looked up

to as every man's hereditary and lawful lord, as is the case with Chiefs in the north. They are *parvenus* and aliens, who cannot expect to be treated with the respect which high birth demands and secures in all Kuki tribes. The Tashon Chiefs themselves are well aware that their birth does not entitle them to the love and respect of their people. To maintain their position they keep their people constantly crushed under a yoke of taxation and fines, and should any village show signs of impatience or resistance it is promptly dealt with and crippled.

The people of the Tashon tribe may be classed into five divisions—

Classification of the Tashons.	(1) The Shunkla,	(3) The Tawyan,
	(2) The Yahow.	(4) The Kweshin,
	(5) The Whenoh.	

These five divisions may be subdivided into—

(1) Shunklas of Falam.	(5) Kwungli.
(2) Other Shunklas.	(6) The Norn family.
(3) The Yahow tribe proper.	(7) The Kweshin and Minlè- daung community.
(4) Other villages of Yahow origin.	(8) Tawyan people.
(9) The Whenoh clan.	

The Shunklas proper inhabit the villages of Falam, Zaungte, Song Heng, and Ya Mwe, and the Chiefs of the tribe who form the council of government are elected from this clique, though always from Falam village. The other Shunklas are those who claim the same origin as the Falam people, and who are undoubtedly of the same family. Originally these were independent of Falam, but have since had to acknowledge its overlordship, and pay tithes and tribute to the council. Among these villages may be mentioned Reshin, Klangrong, the existing Shunkla and the Laiyo group. Years ago, when the Falam power was in its infancy, these villages assisted by Minkin, banded together to resist the demand for tribute made by Falam. The Chiefs of Falam, however, enticed the Norns from the left bank of the river, and the Torrs and Kweshins, from the Minlèdaung and Tawyan group, to assist them, and thus outnumbered the independent Shunklas, who together with Minkin were forced to surrender and accept the Falam yoke. The Minkin people threw in their lot with the outlying Shunkla villages against Falam, because, although Laiyo is a Shunkla village, it also contains a very large sprinkling of the Hlunseo family, which is allied to the Yahow tribe and forms the larger portion of the inhabitants of Minkin.

Yahows.

The Yahow tribe is apparently as distinct from the Shunklas as is the Siyin tribe from the Soktes. The Yahows affirm that once upon a time the sun laid an egg on the earth and that a Burmese woman picked it up on the Webula Hill, and taking it home with her placed it in a pot, when in course of time it hatched and produced four boys. These boys thrived and grew to manhood and married women of the people who were in existence when they were hatched. The eldest Hlunseo settled at Kairon, the second went to Tosum, the third to the village of Klanron, whilst the youngest named Yahow founded Klao village, the present capital of the Yahow tribe, and the home of

Vannul, the present Chief, who is the legitimate descendant of the founder of the tribe which bears his name. In course of time the clan Yahow became a power, but around their villages lived other strong communities related to them, but of different family; those we now identify as the inhabitants of Rumklao, Minkin and Kwungli. The last village was formidable, for the Norns are an offshoot of it. They now reside on the left bank of the Manipur river, their villages stretching from Balaw to Shin-Shi and again on the right bank of the river in a group, the principal of which are Kopwal and Saimon.

The Yahows quarrelled with the Kwunglis and fought them, but making no headway they appealed to Falam for assistance, which Subjection of the Yahows to Falam. was granted on the distinct understanding that in return the Yahows should pay tribute to Falam for ever. The Yahows accepted the terms, and with the help of the Tashons defeated Kwungli, but ever since have been saddled with the Falam overlordship. The Yahows have never fought with Falam, but they were on the point of making a bid for freedom when we appeared on the scenes in 1889. Again in 1894 the tribe was preparing for a fight, but we stepped in and stopped it.

The disarmament of the Tashons is but a matter of time, and probably of a very short time. Should the Political Officer find Feasibility of disarming the Tashons. that all the tribesmen mean to fight, he can in all probability break the Tashon combination by promising the Yahows freedom from the Tashon yoke provided they remain neutral and surrender their arms after the Shunklas, Kwungli, Rumklao, and Minkin have been disarmed.¹

We are upholding the Falam council at the present time, and there is no good reason for upsetting their power and position in the land. If, however, they should fight, the very first thing Possibility of separating Yahows from Falam. to do would be to weaken their power, for it is a mistake to allow Falam to control so large a population unless they are well disposed towards us. Besides this, the Yahow tribal system is sound, the Chiefs live at Klao, which is only a day's march from our post at Falam, and there is no reason why the Assistant Political Officer should not administer the Yahows direct, instead of through the Falam Chiefs. Furthermore, as Vannul now collects the Whenoh tribute for us and his name is great amongst them, it would be convenient to transfer the seventeen Whenoh villages which lie to the west of the Yahow track to Vannul from Falam. The Whenohs would appreciate this arrangement, Vannul would rejoice at it, and we should be the gainers, inasmuch as we should have divided the Falam power and would also receive our tribute direct from Vannul, instead of through two hands. There are now some thirty-eight villages which own Vannul and Yahow as their Chiefs. These villages are all offshoots from Klao and the people all belong to the same family.

Among the other villages of Yahow origin, neither subordinate to Klao nor closely allied to Kwungli, are the villages of Rumklao and Minkin, for, although there are many southerners from the Haka jurisdiction in these border villages, the great majority are the descendants of Hlunseo, who most probably was a brother of Yahow,

¹ The disarmament of the Tashons has now (1896) been effected.



though he came into the world in a more conventional manner than the people assert. These descendants of Hlunseo are found mixed with Shunklas around Falam, and there are many in Laiyo and Klangron.

Rumklao pays but a nominal tribute to Falam and is practically independent of both it and Haka, although it cultivates land which belongs to both. Lieutenant Macnabb in 1891 informed the village that it might consider itself independent, and as Falam does not try to administer it, the Assistant Political Officer at Falam makes his own arrangements for collecting their tribute, which is usually done through their relatives the Hlunseos of Laiyo. The Rumklao community is wild and independent and, having long been accustomed to hold its own, has been slower than the Yahows in acknowledging our supremacy. It has been so far carefully handled, and visited occasionally, and the Chiefs treated with courtesy when they visit Falam. But the time has now come to disarm it, and this will presumably be effected in 1896,¹ for they will receive no sympathy from Falam.

The Hakas are crippled, and we hope that we have won over the Yahow tribe and estranged them from their distant relations in Minkin as well as in Rumklao. Minkin village is mostly peopled by the Hlunseo family and thus is closely connected with Rumklao and related to the Yahow tribe. The village lies on the border between Haka and Falam territory, and although the village pays triennial tribute to Falam, it is only semi-dependent and would, if it got the chance, break loose from Falam control. The village came under the Shunklas, as has already been shown, by espousing the cause of their kindred in Laiyo, and aiding them and the outlying Shunklas in an unsuccessful war against Falam. The father of the present Chief, An Nan, formed a conspiracy with the Yahows to disavow the Falam rule; but when the plot was well matured the Falam council heard of it, and sending out a small party they waylaid the Minkin Chief as he was returning from a conference in the Yahow country and killed him, thus nipping the rebellion in the bud.

Kwungli village stands by itself; it is related to the Yahow tribe and also to the Hlunseo family. The Yahow tribe some forty years ago waged war on Kwungli. Being unable to make headway, the Yahow called on Falam for assistance. Kwungli was then defeated and became subject to the Yahows, who in turn were declared vassals of Falam in return for the assistance given them. The Kwunglis tried to throw off the Falam yoke, but as usual the council called in all its vassals to assist in bringing the refractory community to terms, and furthermore enlisted the Haka Chiefs on their side. Then sallying out they defeated Kwungli, which has since paid tribute to Falam.

The Norns, who live on the left bank of the Manipur river, chiefly in Shinshi, Bwelkwa, Nomwel, &c. (Kapwel, Saimon, &c., being on the right bank), take their name from an ancestor named Norn, who was of the same family as the Kwunglis and subordinate to that village.

When Falam annexed Kwungli all those villages which were subordinate to it became tributary to Falam, and so we still find them, though they look on Kwungli as their head. The Kwunglis have the reputation of being good fighters and determined raiders,

¹ This has now been done (1896).

who have made successful forays amongst the Northern Chins, but the Norns are a wretched timid lot, whose reputation shows them to be good traders but no warriors. When the time comes to disarm the Tashons 75 sepoy will be able to march through their tract after the disarmament of Falam and Kwungli and confiscate all their guns without a blow.

The Kweshin and Minlèdaung people are not Shunklas, nor are they related to the descendants of the four men who are supposed to have been hatched out of an egg. They are not Torrs and are therefore not related to any other people found in the Tashon tract. They are probably a family which split off and got left behind by one of the numerous tribes which have migrated north. The people look on Shimpi as the original village in which their forefathers the hillmen lived, but years ago Burmans came from the plains, settled down amongst and intermarried with them. Now the people are half-breeds of Burman and Kuki blood. The name Kwe Shim or Kwe Shin was probably the name given by the Burmans to the people who split off from Shimpi and settled elsewhere (Kwe to split, and Shin or Shimpi, the name of the original village). Many of these people talk Burmese, and those who live in the Minlèdaung group are quite as much Burman as Chin. Their tract was, until our occupation of the hills, considered as the Kale Sawbwa's territory, the people paying a small tribute to Falam and also to the Sawbwa of Kale. They were formerly used as messengers between the Burmans and Chins, and were considered neutral in all squabbles which have taken place between the hillmen and plainsmen. The Kweshins of Minlèdaung are very lightly taxed by Falam on account of their loyalty to Falam in the Torr rebellion.

The Torrs.

The Tawyan group of four villages borders on the Kale valley. This clan has no connection with any other people administered from Falam. The people aver that they are Torrs, and that their forefathers lived at and around Rawvan, on the Kan-Haka road.

These Torrs, the legends say, became very powerful, and finding no more enemies on this earth, they proposed to pass their time in capturing the sun. They therefore set about building a sort of Jacob's ladder with poles, and gradually mounted higher and higher off the earth and nearer to their goal, the sun. However, the work became tedious; they quarrelled amongst themselves, and one day, when half the people were clambering high up on the pole, all eager to seize the sun, the other half below cut it down. It fell northwards, dashing the people down on the Kale border and around the present site of Tawyan. These people were not damaged by the fall, but either because they did not know the way home again, or perhaps, from some distrust of their former fellow-workers, not caring to risk further accidents, they settled down in Tashon territory.

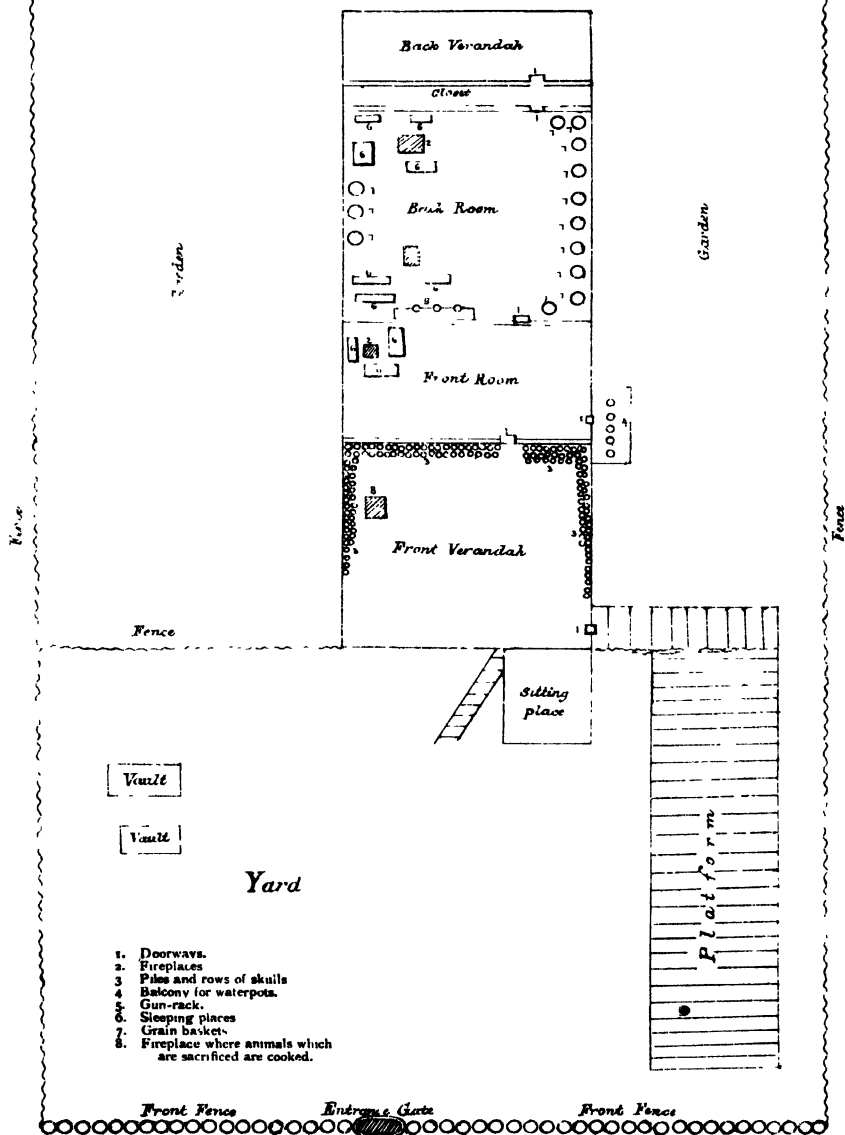
Lieutenant Macnabb tells a story very similar to this which he heard from the Torrs in the south, who state that the Tates or Siyins are the people who thus migrated from the original site of the Torr villages. There is, however, no doubt that the Tawyan villagers are immigrants, probably coming from the Torr country in the Haka jurisdiction, but when and how they got into Falam territory we do not know. Report says that they lived for some long time in the Kweshin villages, and that they were placed

Plan

OF A

HAKA CHIN HOUSE AND COMPOUND.

Garden



1. Doorways.
2. Fireplaces
3. Piles and rows of skulls
4. Balcony for waterpots.
5. Gun-rack.
6. Sleeping places
7. Grain baskets
8. Fireplace where animals which are sacrificed are cooked.

on the border of the Kale State in consequence of the joint wish of the Sawbwa and the Tashon Chiefs to have messengers along the whole line of country between Kalembo and Falam.

The Torrs became tributary to Falam by entering and settling down in their territory, but they were so oppressed by their new rulers that in common with several other villages, such as Lomban, Lunhaw, Kolai, Lati, they determined to fight for freedom. After taking council together they decided not to cross the river to attack Falam itself, but to kill every Falam man who should cross to the left bank. The rope bridges were guarded and no one was allowed to cross from the left bank to the right. Consequently Falam received no information of the plot, and various small parties of Shunklas who crossed the river from time to time for the purpose of trading, hunting, &c., were seized, taken to Losum village and there killed. The plan of operations prospered and 80 Falam men were killed before the plot was discovered. Two Falam men who were captured, however, escaped to Minlèdaung and were protected and hidden by the people and then smuggled across the river. The news of the rebellion thus reached Falam. The Tashons as usual proceeded with deliberation: they collected the Yahows, the Whenohs, and all the Shunklas, and crossing the river, overran and utterly laid waste the whole rebel tract. Only those who fled into Burma evaded death or slavery.

Yan Aung, the headman of Lomban, tells us that he fled the country, and lived for 27 years in the Kale valley as a fugitive, but when almost all his companions had died of malaria and other sickness he besought the Tashons to forgive him and his few remaining people. The Tashons replied that they might return provided that they accepted perpetual slavery, and to these terms he and his people agreed.

The result of the rebellion was very disastrous to the Torrs and their allies. They are now slaves of Falam, and have to carry from the plains of Burma all the salt and rice which may be required by that village, not only for its own consumption, but also for sale to the Yahows and the outlying villages. The Tashons do their utmost to discourage free trade with the plains, as they wish to keep the salt trade in their own hands. The trade is very profitable as the Tashons get the salt brought up from the plains without cost and sell it at a fabulous price to the more distant and ignorant villages. The following are the villages which have to carry salt free of cooly hire from Burma to Falam:—

Tawyan (four villages).	Saung Kwa.
Noran.	Vanyin.
Kawa.	Lowson.
Twetten.	Kun Yin.
Lumte.	Shim Sing.
Yanli.	Yote.

The following villages which rebelled in common with Tawyan, but which lie too far from Burma to be of use as coolies to bring up salt, are punished by heavy taxation and annual fines:—

Lomban.	Lunhaw.
Pate.	Kolai.
	Lati.

These villages have to assist to cultivate the Falam fields ; they annually pay a basket of millet for each house in their villages ; each group of houses pays a mithun triennially to the council and another to certain Chiefs of Falam. Furthermore, one quarter of all the produce of their cattle and domestic animals is forfeited to Falam. Besides this they are regularly fined for every offence or alleged offence. The present generation is suffering very bitterly for the mistakes made by their fathers, but probably in another four or five years we shall have interfered in their behalf and relieved them in part of their heavy load. The Tashons did not forget Minlèdaung for the assistance afforded them in the rebellion, and as a reward for saving the lives of the two Falam men, the following villages pay but a nominal tax and are not forced to carry salt like their neighbours of Tawyan :—

Minlèdaung (six villages).	|	Kwanglon.
Hnorr.	|	Mangsum.

The Whenohs.

The Whenoh community consists of Lushais who have been left behind in territory which is now a part of Chinland, but which formerly was inhabited by Lushais. They were driven west by the Chins across the Tyao and later still were forced further west and across the Tuipi river. When we first came here there were no Lushais living between the Tuipi and the Tyao, but now that raiding has been stopped the Lushais can and doubtless will avail themselves of the opportunity to return and rebuild in the now uninhabited tracts.

The Whenohs say that they came out of rocks at Sepi, and the people consider that their original progenitor lived at Sepi. This is a village which doubtless was large and powerful years ago, but which is now insignificant, owing to the fact that most of the people have left it to build other villages in its vicinity. It is probable that when the Chins drove out the Lushais, Sepi village made peace and was allowed to remain behind, paying tribute to the Chins. The people have many characteristics of the Lushais ; they wear their hair on the nape of the neck and live in temporary villages built of bamboo.

The Yahow Chief, Vannul, collects the Whenoh tribute for us and appears to have great control over them. The Whenohs have played an unimportant part in the politics of Falam, as they never fought, but quietly accepted the overlordship of the council. They are bitter enemies of the Soktes and Kanhows, and but for our presence these tribes would be constantly hunting each other for the sake of heads.

Administration of the Tashon Chiefs.

From the foregoing pages it will be gathered that the Shunklas of Falam rule a heterogeneous community composed of various aliens, who far outnumber the ruling tribe. The fact that they have acquired and maintained their rule over all these people speaks well for their power of administration. They hold their position, not so much through their prowess in the field as through the ingenuity which has enabled them to play off one sept against another and thus uphold their rule over the whole.

Suzerainty of the
Tashons.

The Falam tribe is administered by a council of five Chiefs, who are all chosen from the Shunkla tribe and from Falam village. The Falam council. The post of councillor is attained, not by virtue of birth, but by the vote of the people. It is a most extraordinary circumstance to find a Kuki tribe disregarding birth, and appointing to rule them five men who may be of plebeian origin and who have attained affluence by successful trade, proved their wisdom in diplomacy, or fought their way to fame in raids and wars. Amongst the Chins, as among the Kukis, it is the male issue which commands respect and demands rights, but amongst the Shunklas a plebeian like Sonpek, who is the greatest man in the tribe, can make himself Chief by right, through marrying into a family of Chiefs. Such a thing would be impossible amongst the Hakas and Soktes. The aristocratic family of the Shunklas is the "Kong Perr," to which the two old councilmen Karr Lyin and Man Hlorr belong. The other three are men whose position in the tribe is due either to their own efforts or to distinction gained by their fathers.

The council is composed of—

Man Hlorr, son of Kyip Byik.
 Karr Lyin, son of Niarr Vum.
 Sonpek, son of Kyip Byik.
 Soung Karr, son of Hwe Lwun.
 Boi Mon, son of Lien Maung.

Division of Falam into quarters. Falam village is divided into six quarters, each controlled by elders who are immediately subordinate to the council. The six quarters are—

- (1) Fangpo controlled by Swak Karr.
- (2) Kotarr controlled by Nierrchi.
- (3) Boto controlled by Man Hlorr.
- (4) Laiko controlled by Tat Pyi.
- (5) Liep controlled by Yat Kwe.
- (6) Lun On controlled by Boi Mon.

The councilmen usually reside in the Boto quarter. The villages of the Tashon tribe are divided into six groups, each quarter of Falam receiving the tribute of its particular group, which it also controls under the direction of the council. Meetings of the council. Every day the council meets in the morning at the house of one of the councilmen, in order to discuss tribal affairs and to decide any cases brought before it. The council consists of all the Chiefs of the Boto quarter and two from each of the other five quarters. The first business is to sit down to a repast, which invariably consists of a pig, with cups of *su* for their liquor. After this meal petitions and complaints of private individuals are heard, and the revenue matters of the tribe are discussed.

From their intercourse with the Sawbwa of Kale, we find the council proceeds with its business in an orderly and systematic manner. Procedure of the council. A complainant who brings a charge against a man of another village for theft or for grievous hurt, first pays a pig to the council as court-fees; the case is then heard, and if the complainant wins his case the defendant pays a large fine to the council first, and then if he has anything left it is given to the complainant. The council is corrupt and open to bribery in secret, and he who pays the fattest fee

usually wins his case. Again, cases are often decided according to their political bearing: a complainant from a weak village has no chance against an adversary with powerful friends, or one who comes from a stronger village. The trial is always conducted with a view of propitiating the strong and the rich, no matter how certain a case can be made against them, or to decree a compromise which will more or less satisfy both parties. There is a regular scale of punishments. If a man kill another, all his possessions are forfeited, and if the relations of a murdered man wish it, they may kill the murderer. The taking of life even by the "avenger of blood" is, however, discouraged by the council except in warfare. If a man kill another accidentally, his property is confiscated in exactly the same manner as if he had done the deed purposely.

If a man beat another and no bones are broken or blood spilled, the case is not taken up. If, however, skin or bones have been broken, one pig for every three blows is the compensation awarded. Petty quarrels are not brought before the council, but are decided by the resident headmen of villages. In Falam no one Chief has the power to decide any case. The Chiefs in council must discuss everything and they are all very jealous of the rights of the council. It is not uncommon for a councilman to be fined for an excess of zeal or a breach of etiquette, and Boi Mon, who is young and hot-headed, is constantly paying fines for exceeding his legitimate powers. "Unity is strength" is a Falam motto, and therefore every quarter of the village is represented in discussions on all matters connected with the tribe and village. If the villages subordinate to one quarter are insubordinate, it is to the interest of the other five quarters to see the refractory villages corrected, and if the council is of opinion that the tribe should go to war, a council is convened which includes not only the Shunkla council and all the elders of the six quarters, but also the resident Chiefs of all the outlying villages. All these people are the guests of Falam whilst the matter is being discussed.

The Falam council makes an assumption of great dignity and tries to impress all Chinland that they are our equals and deal with us on terms of equality. This idea we have had to dispel. However, the Chiefs have invariably refused to accept any presents from us and have even taken away and returned any small gifts made to their children. The village of Falam has for years refused to do cooly work, declaring that they are all Chiefs, and although the tribe supplies some 15,000 men annually for cooly work, these men are drawn from the outlying villages and not from Falam itself.

Occasionally old Sonpek out of curiosity visits the post to see how the buildings are getting on. He then calls on the Political Officers, invariably saying that of course he would not have troubled to come all the way from the village to the post merely to call, but as he happened to be passing that way he dropped in.

In former times the Sawbwa of Kale and the Falam council made a defensive and offensive alliance. No doubt, the position of Falam was materially improved by this treaty. The terms were adhered to, for the Burmans and Shunklas, as is shown in the account of the Siyin tribe, often fought side by side in the common interest, and the Shunklas destroyed Hrimpi, a Haka village, because it had raided the Burmese village of Kungyi in the Kale valley.

The Falam council recognizes that the tribal position is in a most critical state at the present time. They not only failed to keep us out of the Siyin country in 1889, but they also met with no success when they tried to prevent our visiting Falam in 1890 and again, two years later, when we placed a post at their village. Their position then became still more unstable. They had approved of the Siyin-Nwengal rebellion, although they did not openly assist the rebels, and when we had finished dealing with the Northerners, we disarmed some Whenoh and Yahow tribesmen as well as some Norns subordinate to Kwungli and tributary to Falam. The people thus saw what we already suspected, namely, that Falam was afraid to fight us for the guns of her subordinates. This year has seen the partial disarmament of the south, and now that the northern and southern tribes are disarmed, the Tashons recognize that their turn comes next, and they are very awkwardly placed. If they surrender their guns, their power will be diminished and their prestige lowered; if, on the other hand, they fight, they are certain to be beaten, their fine capital will be at the mercy of the troops, and Government as a punishment may split up the present Tashon possessions into two or three independent chieftainships, Falam retaining the Shunklas, Kweshins, Torrs, &c., whilst the Yahows and the Whenohs would be independent of the Tashons and directly subordinate to the Assistant Political Officer at Falam. Exactly in the same way Klangklang and Yokwa are subordinate to the Assistant Political Officer at Haka, and the four clans of Siyins are each directly under the Assistant Political Officer at Tiddim. The present policy of the Falam council is to uphold their power and position in the land; they realize that they have nothing to gain by a quarrel with us, and they hope by general good behaviour to secure our friendship. At the same time they have ordered their tribesmen to buy and not to sell guns, in case they may be required, and they never lose the chance of impressing on us that they are a very powerful and well-armed community.

They hope thereby to bluff us into leaving their tribal arrangements and their guns alone. The tribe will doubtless be disarmed before many months are passed, and it will be very surprising if the Tashons do more than bluster and protest, for they have never yet fought us, though they have often discussed the advisability of war. So far they have submitted to our wishes whenever they have seen that we should make it a *casus belli* if they did not. In years to come the Tashons will be the most satisfactory tribe in the hills, for they are traders at heart, and as a whole they are averse to bloodshed. The common people are inclined to look on us not in the same light as the Siyin, who curses us for freeing his slaves and stopping his raids and forays, but rather as a check on Falam and the council, and as saviours from the systematic oppression of the Chiefs. Outwardly we are on the best possible terms with the Tashons, but we watch each other carefully as each distrusts the other. We look on them as people who must be considered dangerous until they are disarmed, whilst they are watching the progress of disarmament and debating how they can save their dignity, their guns, as well as their capital and the integrity of their tribe. They are quite astute enough to note the friendly advances which we have made to the Yahows, and they are aware that in case of war the latter, bribed by the prospect of freedom, would stand aloof from the struggle.

If struggle there be, it will be but brief. We should first capture Falam, which can be done at any time by 200 sepoys accompanied by the guns of the military police. Council, Chiefs, and villagers would then be driven out and care taken to keep them from cultivating the lands, then Yamwell and Kwungli could be occupied and a column sent after the Chiefs to prevent them from collecting forces. Meanwhile troops from Haka could advance to Minkin and Rumklao, and the North Chin military police to Shinshi, while two small parties of mounted police could be placed at Sihaung and Indin to protect the plains. A proclamation would be issued, promising the Yahows their freedom from Falam provided they laid down their arms, and informing all other villages that we would deal with each separately, that each would be required to surrender a fixed number of guns, and that when these were given up the village would be free from all further coercion.

It would not be long before the council surrendered. They are shrewd enough to know that if they remained in the jungle their influence would wane and that we could set up very good substitutes for them; they would also remember that half their possessions is better than no possessions at all, and they would return to Falam. We should recognize them and they would have received a much-needed lesson and would thereafter not be able to oppress their people as they do at the present time.¹

CHAPTER XIV.

HISTORY OF THE LAIS (HAKAS, KLANGKLANGS, YOKWAS, KAPIS, AND THETTAS).

THE clans which claim the title of Lais are the Hakas, Klangklangs, Yokwas, Thettas, and Kapis, as well as certain other independent southern villages. The first two are universally acknowledged as Lais, and refuse to admit that the others belong to their race, asserting that they are of a different origin.

The tradition is that there was a village of huge size called Yoklang, which covered the hill upon which Kwarwa now stands, and that thence two brothers, Seo Hle and Hlwa Sha, sons and grandsons of Chiefs, started south and eventually founded a village which they called Pailan, 3 miles north of Haka and just below where the Falam mule-track now runs. Seo Hle, the elder, asserted his right to be Chief of the newly formed village and insisted that Hlwa Sha should give him a pig once a year in token of his overlordship. To this Hlwa Sha pretended to agree and only asked that he should be allowed to kill the animal while Seo Hle held it. The pig was therefore produced, but as Seo Hle stooped down to seize it, Hlwa Sha stabbed him to the heart with the bamboo spike which had been prepared for killing the pig.

Hlwa Sha was now in undisputed possession, but believing that the place where he had slain his brother would bring ill-fortune to his village, he removed to the hillside upon which Haka now stands, and allowed his people to build in scattered hamlets. Several generations after, Tan Hle, Yatang, and Bom Long, three brothers in direct descent from Hlwa Sha, began to col-

¹ The above paragraphs were written in 1894-95. The Tashons and their tributaries have now (1895-96) been disarmed without resistance or difficulty.

lect the scattered people into villages, and about the same time two Chiefs of Yoklang, Mwel Lun and Ting Lon, founded Klangklang, while villages began to form at Yokwa, Thetta, and Kapi, the three latter tracing their descent to a wild goat which conceived and gave birth to a man on the top of a precipice called Boi Hrum (the Chief's jungle) close by.

The Hakas.

Hardly had Haka village been built than the ever-greedy Shunklas determined to add it to the number of their tributaries. Basing their claim on original land-rights acquired over Yoklang, they demanded a heavy tribute on pain of immediate attack. Bom Long and his people gave in without a struggle, but Ya Taung and Tan Hle collected 700 men, and taking up a position, which they hastily fortified, along the stream which now runs through the centre of Haka village, awaited the attack. The Shunkla army was assembled at Minkin and is described as being as numerous as the seeds in one basketful of Indian-corn. The force, led by Hlunseo, the great-grandfather of Kwa Err, one of the present Chiefs of Minkin, advanced along the range where the present road runs.

The battle began at midday, both sides fighting with spears, *das*, and shields. It is stated that bows and arrows were not used, and that it was sunset before the Hakas were driven from their positions by the enormously superior force of the enemy. Both sides lost heavily, and among the Haka slain were nine women great with child; the murder of these still rankles in the minds of the Hakas. The victorious Shunklas spread over the valley, destroying everything, and for ten days the remnant of the Hakas lived in the dense jungle on the summit of the Rongklang, subsisting on roots and the flesh of the dogs which had followed them. When the Shunklas had returned, Bom Long gave them shelter, and his village is said afterwards to have contained 800 households.

The Hakas now sued for peace and a heavy indemnity was paid to the Shunklas, who, as an assurance of their good faith, sent a man and his wife to live in Haka. Not long after, however, the woman was badly treated by a Haka boy during childbirth and she fled with her husband back to Minkin. Petty war again broke out with varying success until Tat Sin, probably nearly 100 years ago, collected a considerable force of Hakas and attacked the Shunkla villages in the valley where Reshein and Shunklapi now stand. He gained a signal success, inflicting a heavy loss in men, and driving into Haka all their cattle. The fight is remarkable, as both sides are said to have had a few guns, and it is stated that this was the first raid in which they were used.

Meanwhile the **Yahows** had been bought off with presents, and the Hakas, freed from the pressure on the north, successfully raided Minkin and Kwanglui and forced the Shunklas to recognize their independence, and the boundaries of their respective spheres of influence were agreed on.

Having settled with their formidable neighbours on the north, the Hakas turned their attention to the Lushais, who at this time occupied the country as far east as the banks of the Lavar stream barely 20 miles west of Hak⁷. Their chief centres were Kwe Hring and Vizan, two huge villages on the western slopes of the Rongklang range, and to this day the sites, fortifications, and

roads of the former towns can be traced. These two villages had been foremost in harassing the Haka border, and had frequently threatened invasion. The Hakas now determined to attack these villages, and to ensure success Lyen Dun, the great-grandfather of Vanlein, the present head of the Nunthwa Sun family, was sent to Burma to engage a force of Burmans armed with guns. It was several years before Lyen Dun succeeded in his mission, but eventually he induced Maung Myat San of Tilin, with 200 men armed with guns and bringing with them two brass cannon, to join the Haka cause. The Haka and Burman forces were collected on the spot where Lonertz now stands, and marching by night surprised Kwe Hring in the early dawn by a noisy volley in which the brass cannon played a conspicuous part. The Lushais who had no firearms deserted their villages and fled in disorder, and for several months parties of Hakas ravaged the country, eventually driving every Lushai across the Tyao before the rains made that river unfordable.

There was now an enormous tract of country at the disposal of the Haka Chiefs, and certain portions appear to have been allotted to each, and it became the custom for the younger branches of the chief families to leave the mother-village and found villages in the newly acquired territory under the protection of, and paying tribute to, the Hakas.

Thus the sons of Tat Sin were settled in Aibur, Bwe, Dongvar, and other villages; Lyen Hnon with the aid of the Shanpi family made his sons Chiefs of Bwetet, Hrein Hrein, and Nyerlon, and the younger branches of the Nunthwa Sun family occupied Klangkwa, Lonertz, and the country from which the Kwe Hring people had just been driven. The Darkwa Sun and Kenlout families, although very numerous, appear to have taken but little part in extending the influence of the tribe, and their present inferior position among the Haka families may be attributed to this cause.

It was in Lyen Hnon's¹ time that the Hakas first came into collision with the Burmans. The story is that the Thettas, seeing how successful the combined Haka and Burman forces had been against the Lushais, hired a force of Burmans to help them to destroy Haka. The latter, hearing of the approach of the army, deserted their village, which was at once occupied by the enemy, who spent two days digging up the compounds in the hope of finding hidden property. The Hakas meanwhile having carefully hidden their women and children, marched on Thetta by a jungle-path along the summit of the Rongklang range, surprised the village which had been left entirely undefended, put all the women and children to the sword and flung their corpses into the Rivar, the stream below Thetta, which is said to have been choked with bodies for the entire waning of the moon. The Thettas, hearing of the disaster, hurried back on the tracks of the Hakas, but failed to meet them.

The Hakas now declared that they were no longer friendly with the Burmans, and commenced a series of raids which were only put an end to by our occupation of the hills.

The Burmans seem to have suffered in patience until Lon Seo, the grandfather of Vanlein, was ruling Haka, when they determined to send a punitive expedition into the hills, and an army said to have been 1,000 strong and led by

Distribution of territories.

Fighting between Haka and Thetta.

Raids on the plains of Burma.

**The Burmans
Burmese expedition against Haka.**

¹ The great-grandfather of Lyenmo, the present head of the Shante family.

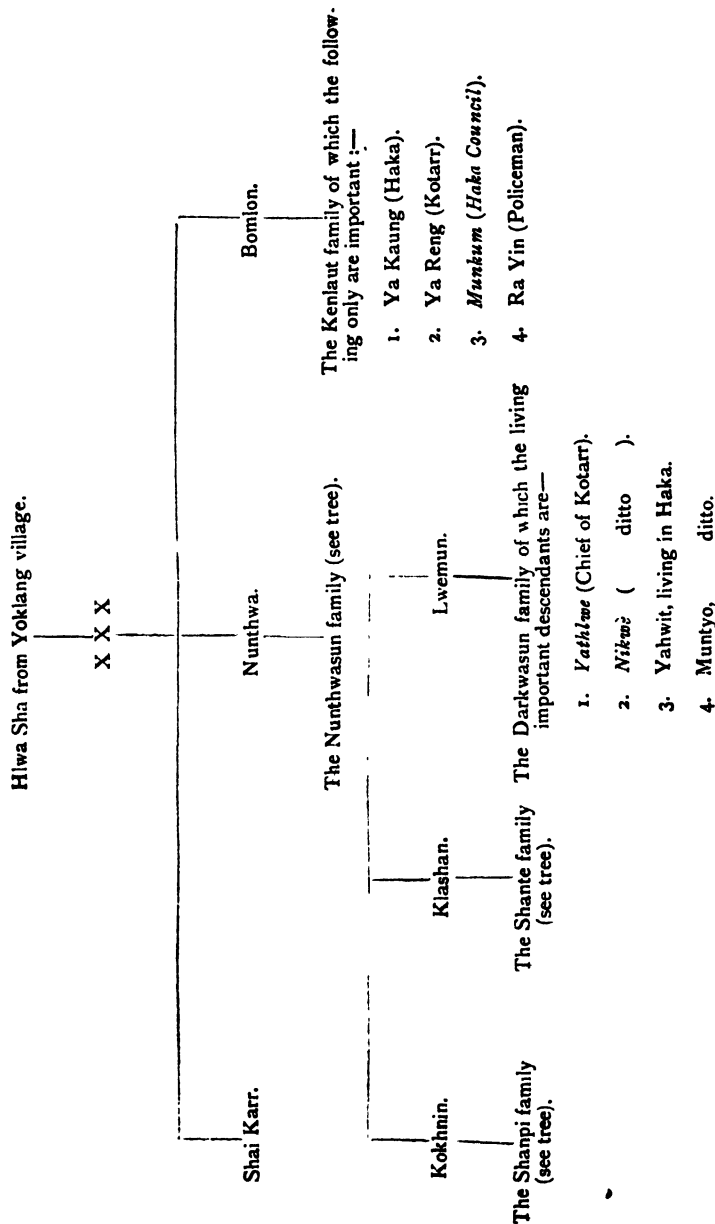
Maung Myat San, apparently the same man as the leader of the Burmans in the attack on the Lushais, advanced into the hills. Bondwa, Yokwa, Vanhna, and Haka were destroyed in succession, the Lais offering but little opposition to the advance of the force. The Burmans had hoped to find supplies at Haka, but all the grain had been removed, and finding themselves short of provisions they began to retreat by the line along which the Hanta road now runs. The Lais swarmed upon their flanks and rear, and at the pass half-way between Haka and Faron a successful onslaught, led in person by Lon Seo, created a panic, and the Burmans fled in all directions. The Hakas boast that only Maung Myat San, who knew the paths, escaped. In any case the defeat was decisive, for the Burman never again attempted to invade the Haka territory, while the Lais, emboldened by their success, organized a series of ferocious raids into Burma which were almost invariably successful, and by which they obtained guns, *das*, money, and cattle in ransom for captives.

Thus each raid saw the Lais better equipped for the next, and better able to attack the now partially disarmed Burman villages. Feuds between Hakas, Thettas, and Yokwas. Meanwhile the raids between the Thettas and Hakas took the form of cattle-lifting, and but little blood was shed on either side; but in the last generation the Hakas and Yokwas quarrelled over the division of plunder obtained in a raid on the Burman village of Saing Du, which had been successfully attacked by a combined force of Hakas and Yokwas under Lyen Son of Yokwa and Mun Tyo of Haka. The feud for some time was confined to robbery, and the Hakas were the first to shed blood, Shan Kling of Yokwa being killed within a mile of Haka village by Mun Tyo. The two tribes now ambuscaded each other on every possible occasion, but without any distinct advantage to either side, until a party of 20 Yokwas, returning laden with grain from Bhen Lon, fell into a well-laid trap and were slaughtered to a man. The last act of the quarrel occurred just before the Chin-Lushai expedition of 1889-90 entered the hills, when two large parties of Hakas and Yokwas, each bent on attacking the other's village, accidentally ran into each other on the top of the pass between Bwetet and Yokwa. It is impossible to tell which of the forces was the most frightened; both exchanged hurried and harmless volleys and fled down opposite slopes of the mountain, and both, when they were at a safe distance from each other, claimed the victory.

The Chiefs of the Haka tribe claim supremacy over villages containing in the aggregate nearly 3,000 houses, having an estimated Extent of Haka territory. population of 15,000 persons, 4,000 of whom are fit to bear arms. Their northern border runs in the longitude of Hairon; the Pao stream dividing them from the Tasnons, whilst the Shimu Tlang, with its continuations, is their frontier with the Yahows. No natural features divide the Hakas, Klangklangs, and Yokwas, and most of the villages on these borders are influenced by two or even all three clans. In the south they are checked by the strong group of villages of which Naring is the chief and which has successfully kept their independence. Their territory on the west was curtailed by us when we made the Boinu the division between the Chin and South Lushai Hills.

The Haka territory was acquired more by colonization than by force of arms, and less than one-fourth of the villages now tributary to the Haka Chiefs are the result of conquest. Apparently in the time of Yahmon and Tat Sin the territory then belonging to Haka was divided amongst the Chiefs, who sent out the younger branches of their families to form and rule villages which should pay tribute to themselves at Haka. In nearly every case the descent of the Chiefs now ruling villages can be traced back to the old Haka stock, the chief families of which are,— (1) Shanpi, (2) Shante, (3) Nunthwasun, (4) Darkwasun, (5) Kenlaut, and the following pedigrees show how the Chiefs were related to each other, and the names of the villages still ruled by their direct descendants, as well as the relationships upon which the present Haka Chiefs base their claim to levy tribute.

The disarmament of the Hakas was commenced in 1895, and up to the end of March in that year 605 guns had been withdrawn.

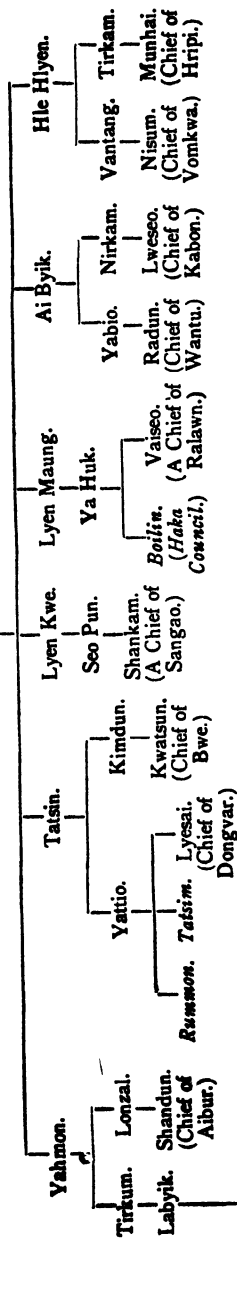
Tree showing descent of the Haka Families.

Note.—Unimportant branches of the Darkwasun and Kenlaut families have been omitted ; the Chiefs of most influence now living are italicised.

The Shanpi Family.

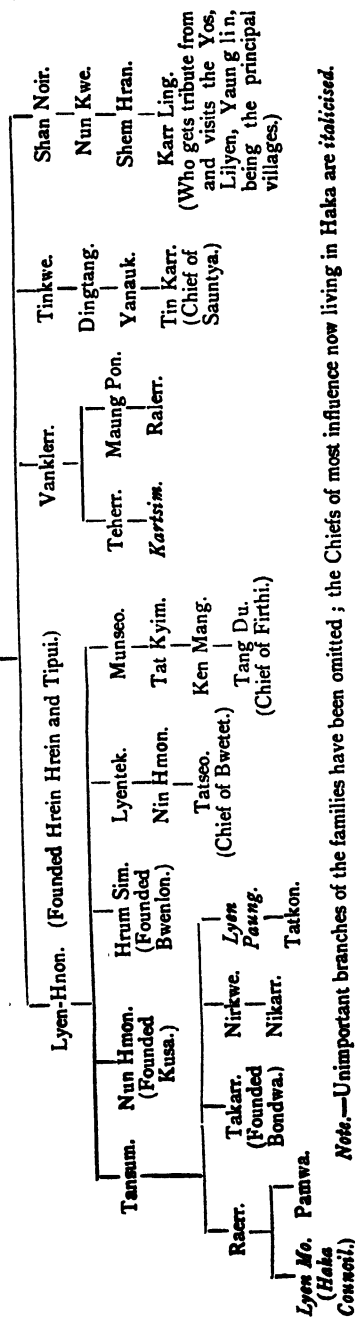
Kok-Hnin.

Tan Ding.

*The Shante Family.*

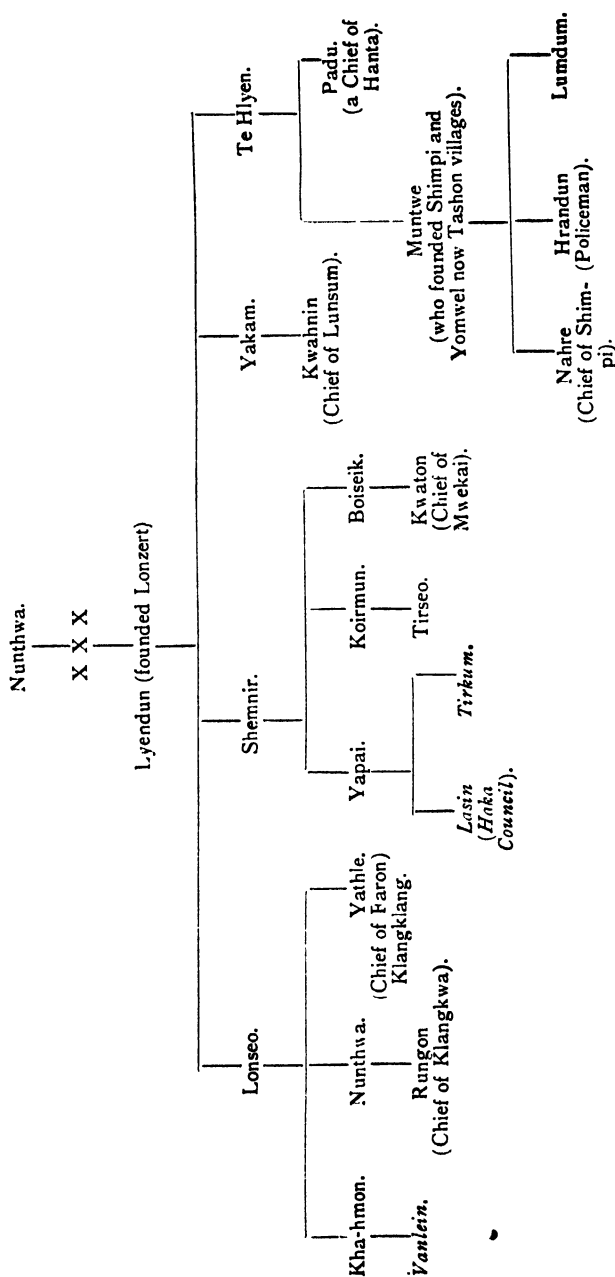
Kia Shan.

Kiplyen.



Note.—Unimportant branches of the families have been omitted ; the Chiefs of most influence now living in Haka are *italicised*.

Lyen Mo. *(Haka Council.)*

The Nuntkwasun Family.

Note.—Unimportant branches of the family have been omitted; the Chiefs of most influence now living in Haka are *italicised*.

The Klangklangs.

The Klangklangs, after the defeat of the Lushais on the Rongklang, allied themselves by marriage to the Haka Chiefs. They thus secured comparative peace on their eastern border, and were able to use all their available resources against the Lushais on the west. By constant petty raiding they succeeded in pushing their influence as far as the Blue Mountains and the Tipi river, while the southern bend of the Boinu was frequently ravaged by their raiding parties, who even penetrated the territory now within the geographical boundary of the Arakan Hill Tracts. The Klangklangs first came into direct contact with the British on account of Howsata, who wished to marry Ya Hwit's¹ daughter. Ya Hwit demanded a price which Howsata was unable to pay, but eventually agreed to substitute human heads for the cattle and gongs which had been originally demanded. To obtain these heads, Howsata organized the raiding party which accidentally coming upon Lieutenant Stewart's camp killed that officer and the greater part of his survey party.

There is no authenticated case of the Klangklang raiding into British territory on the west, although there is no reason to doubt that many of the young bloods of Klangklang have accompanied Lushai raiding parties.

The Klangklang Chiefs assert that their influence extends as far as Kairuma's village on the north-west, and as far south as Shibaung and the geographical boundary of the Arakan Hill Tracts, while on the west they lay claim to the villages on the Blue Mountain. The Boinu and the Tyao chosen as the boundary between the Chin and South Lushai Hills has strictly curtailed their territory, and we now recognize only 20 villages as belonging to the tribe. These contain rather less than 1,000 houses with an estimated population of 5,000, among which, on the border villages, we find many Lushais, who are called Mur by the Hakas, and as there has been a good deal of intermarrying, there are many half-breeds who, however, all claim to be Lais.

Many of the Lushai customs and habits still cling to the frontier villages. Tao, Tunzan, Dawn, Klangpi and several others are wretched bamboo villages, built in the Lushai style upon the tops of spurs, and the people follow the Lushai custom of storing their supplies in granaries perched on hill-tops or in thick jungle, often several miles from the village. It is probable that Klangklang itself was built under the protection of Haka, but this the people deny, and the Chiefs of both tribes are now so intermingled by marriage that it is hardly possible to surmise what was the original relationship of the tribes. The Hakas look on Klangklang as being an ungrateful child which, directly it was strong enough, threw off allegiance to the mother-village.

The rights of the Klangklang Chiefs to levy tribute on their villages are but slight, and the country was not developed in the systematic way which prevails among the Hakas. We thus find that most villages claim to pay tribute to the Klangklang Ywabon and not to any particular Chief.

The Klangklangs were first known on the Arakan and Chittagong frontiers as Shendus and to these borders they confined their raids, for as far as our enquiries go, they appear never to have gone to Burma. Some of them accompanied the raid led by Howsata in which Lieutenant Stewart and his survey party

Our dealings with the Klangklangs.

¹ Known in the west as Jahuta.

were murdered. They did not oppose the advance of the Chin-Lushai expedition of 1889-90, but directly the rains of 1890 set in, they appear to have regretted their submission and endeavoured to organize an attack on Haka post. In this they did not succeed, but in the following year the majority of their villages joined in the attack on the Political Officer at the Laawvar, and from that time until the surrender of Lalwe in 1894 our dealings with the tribe were of a punitive character. The disarmament of the tribe was completed in 1895, and they now possess only one gun to every ten houses.

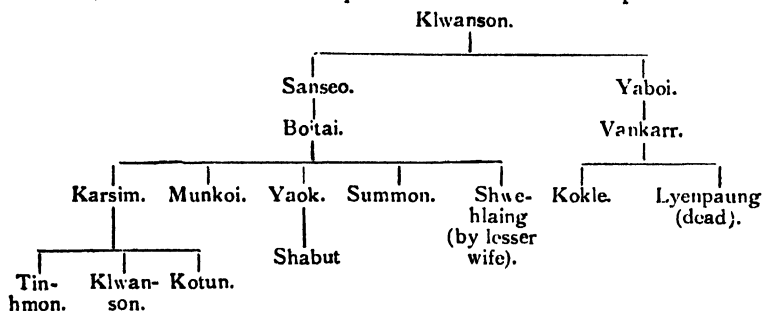
The Yokwas.

The Yokwas were able to form a tribe in much the same manner as the Hakas had done, except that the members of the Chiefs' families did not leave the mother-village, and the newly founded hamlets were placed under the charge of trustworthy free-men. It is asserted by the Yokwas that they were a recognized State in the kingdom of Burma. They say that Lyen Son went to Mandalay to see the Burmese king, and that a treaty was made by which the Yokwas received a Yaw blanket and a viss of salt from all the villages on the border on the condition that raiding ceased.

It is said that this tribute was paid form any years and until Tan Ding, a minor Yokwa Chief, quarrelled with the Ywaben and fled to Burma, where he found the Gangaw people divided into two factions and at war about the thugyiship of the little State. Tan Ding was joined by Lyen Son and between them they enticed all the Chiefs of Yokwa with a large following to come to Kan on the pretext of joining in the war and of looting the weaker side. The Yokwas fell into the trap, and on their arrival at Kan they were shown into the middle of the village, where a feast had been laid out for them between rows of paddy-bins, which the Burmans said had been placed there to shelter them from the wind. The Chins sat down to their meal, and when the feast was at its height a volley from the paddy-bins, which were full of Burmans, decimated the Yokwas, who fled precipitately, leaving behind them the bodies of twelve of their most important Chiefs. Before this act of treachery the Yokwas say they never raided in Gangaw, but now they led a succession of raiding parties down to the plains, plundering the Burman villages of Yabo, Twana, Chaunggauk, Saingdu, Mele, and several others.

The Yokwa tribe contains 13 villages comprising rather more than 500 houses. Its population may be estimated at under 2,500 persons. The people claim to be Laiss, and although this is disputed by the Hakas, the two tribes intermarry. The two dialects differ, yet intelligent people of both tribes readily understand each other. The Kenmwe family is the most influential, but the hereditary principle is not well developed amongst the Yokwas, and on several occasions people, unconnected with this family, have led the tribe. Thus Lyen Son, who was Chief of Yokwa when we first came into the hills, had only the right of a ready knife and a tireless tongue to his position. Now that he is dead Ratyo, who is not in the direct line of the descent of the Yokwa Chiefs, is perhaps the most influential of all the Yokwas.

Tinhmon, the son of Karsim, is by right the hereditary Chief, but being a stupid and somewhat weak young man he has been pushed aside, and Ratyo, Kokle, and Shwehlaing now rule the tribe. The following pedigree, which does not pretend to be exhaustive, shows the relationship of some of the more important men :—



Most of our business with the tribe is conducted through Shwehlaing, who eight years ago quarrelled with his brothers and fled westward through Arakan, being eventually sent back to Rangoon *via* Calcutta. He is the only Chin who has ever visited the latter city. Shwehlaing was an interpreter at the time of the Gangaw rebellion and accompanied the Chin-Lushai expedition in 1889-90, to the advance of which the Yokwas offered a feeble resistance. Since then he has been in our employ. He lives in the Yokwa village and acts as an agent to the Assistant Political Officer at Haka.

Disarmament. The Yokwa tribe was disarmed in 1895 and it is now estimated that there is only one gun to every 10 houses.

The Southern Independent Villages.

There are some 45 independent villages administered from Haka; these contain nearly 3,500 houses and have an estimated population of over 17,000 persons. They are inhabited by Yotuns, Shintangs, Lawtus, Yos, and Lais, and have all more or less intermarried. The Yotuns are the most numerous, while the Lais have the most influence. The majority of the Yos live beyond our frontier towards Arakan, and Lunsoi, Ngapai and Soipi, which are influenced by the Haka Chiefs, are the only Yo villages, although the Lawtu villages of Nagrin, Kwahrang, Tangaw, and Shurgnen are very closely allied to the Yos.

Thetta and Kapi are the most important of the Lai villages and have successfully resisted all attempts of the Hakas to bring them under control. Their influence is very wide and some of the most southern villages even now give them peace-offerings.

The history of the Kapis and Thettas is a long continued series of petty raiding, either into Burma, or against any one else whom they thought they could attack with impunity. Their Chiefs seem to have had no power of organization and were not of the kind which establishes tribes, so both clans are still confined to their original villages and their surplus population has for the most part been gathered into the Haka net.

Of the Yotun villages Aika, Rawywa, Lungno, and Shirklai are the most important, and Shurkwa, Lotaw, and Tonwa are the largest of the Shintang villages.

Of the independent villages, only the Lais waged a systematic raiding warfare with Burma. Thetta was the chief offender, but all the Lai villages were involved. Some of the Shintang villages also raided, notably Shurkwa and Tonwa, but only in a spasmodic way. The Lawtu villages did not raid at all and the Yotuns do not appear to have gone beyond cattle-stealing.

Of late years a considerable intercourse has sprung up between the southern villages and Burma, and we find in nearly every village a Burmese-speaking Chin, who conducts the petty trade and acts as an agent for the Burman traders.

If we except the Lais, the inhabitants are a peace-loving people, and it is only along the southern border, which is harassed by the Chinbòks and Chinmès, that the villages are in an unsettled state. With the exception of Thetta, the villages offered no opposition to the occupation of their country, but afterwards several independent villages had recourse to arms. However, the defeats they experienced at Shurkwa, Rawywa and afterwards at Thetta, have established our authority amongst the southern villages. All the independent villages were partially disarmed in 1895.



Photo etching

Survey of India Office, Calcutta, November, 1880

14. HAKA WOMEN.

PART II.

CHAPTER XV.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

General characteristics of the people, &c.

THE Chin Hills are peopled by many clans and communities, calling themselves by various names and believing themselves to be of distinct and superior origin. It is evident, however, that all belong to one and the same, the Kuki race, which, owing firstly to the want of a written language and secondly to the interminable inter-village warfare, has split up and resulted in a Babel of tongues, a variety of customs, and a diversity of modes of living.

Thus Falam, the capital of the Shunklas, is but a long day's march for a Chin from the heart of the Siyin country, yet a border villager has to be requisitioned to interpret the words of the Siyin to the Shunkla and *vice versa*, and the appearance of the tribesmen differs as widely as their language. Throughout the vast apparent difference in detail of the manners and customs of the tribes, the main Kuki characteristics can be universally traced and may be briefly enumerated as follows. The slow speech, the serious manner, the respect for birth and the knowledge of pedigrees, the duty of revenge, the taste for and the treacherous method of warfare, the curse of drink, the virtue of hospitality, the clannish feeling, the vice of avarice, the filthy state of the body, mutual distrust, impatience under control, the want of power of combination and of continued effort, arrogance in victory, speedy discouragement and panic in defeat are common traits throughout the hills.

Physical characteristics.

Physically the Chin is a fine man, taller and stouter than his neighbours in the plains on both the north and east, and although he falls short of the build of the Pathan, his measurements compare more than favourably with those of the Gurkha. The measurements of individual Chins are so uneven that it is hard to strike an average, but should the nature of the Chin in course of time become amenable to discipline, a recruiting officer would have no difficulty in enlisting men averaging 5 feet 6 inches in height with chest measurement of 35 and calf measurement of 15 inches. It is no uncommon occurrence to find men 5 feet 10 inches and 5 feet 11 inches in height with chest measurement of 39 inches and with a calf measurement of the abnormal size of 16 inches.

Individual tall men are found in the Kuki villages immediately south of Manipur and among the Soktes, but the finest built men in the hills are the Siyins, Hakas, and independent southerners.

The Siyins, though small in stature, are splendidly limbed and are the most evenly built tribe in the hills, though the Hakas and independent southerners are as a whole taller and produce the finest individual men. The late Lyenrwa of Kotarr and Lalwe of Klangklang are perfectly proportioned giants with a magnificent development of muscle.

The worst built and puniest men in the hills are found amongst the Tashons, who are as a whole distinctly inferior to the other tribes in physique and in carrying capability. There is a saying in the north "one Siyin is equal to three Tashons, but then there are over 15 Tashons to every Siyin."

In the Minlèdaung group of villages many of the inhabitants are dwarfs. In the Norn tract of Tashon country the inhabitants are a wretched lot, much afflicted with goitre, amongst whom may be seen cretins who crawl about on all fours with the pigs in the gutters. At Dimlo in the Sokte tract leprosy has a firm hold on the inhabitants.

The carrying capacity of the Chin equals that of the Bhutia and is superior to that of the Gurkha inasmuch as he is faster. It is not uncommon to find a man carrying 180 lbs. for a 12 mile stage, and such a load as 60 lbs. appears hardly to affect the ordinary pace of the carrier, who will march 20 miles in the day.

The Chins and the southern Kukis of Manipur being the same race, living in the same class of country and under the same conditions, are, as is to be expected, equally good carriers; but for short distances neither are as fast as the most satisfactory of all the foreign coolies who have worked in the Chin Hills, the Tunkal.

The Chin man's method of carrying is on the back, the load being attached to a wooden yoke which fits on the back of the neck and the strain relieved by a band which passes through the ends of the yoke and round the brow of the head. The women invariably carry their loads in large bamboo and cane baskets which rest against the shoulder blades and which are supported by a brow-band.

Except on the western border where Whenohs and Yahows are found with beards, the Chin is not a hairy man, and hair on the face is seldom seen in the north. In the south a moustache and small pointed beard are the most that can be grown. These are only affected by elderly men, as the presence of hair on the face is objected to by the women, and this slender growth is consequently plucked out with nippers by all the young men.

The extreme dirtiness of the body has led it to be popularly believed that the Chins never wash; but this is a mistake, as they usually do so whenever a favourable opportunity occurs, such as when crossing a stream after the sun is well up. But having washed, they are as dirty as ever again within a few hours. They come in perspiring from a journey and from the fields, sit round a smoky fire, and then lie down with their faces on the floor or on a block of wood which is never cleaned, and in the morning they are again black with sweat, soot, and grime. Slaves and others working in the fields perspire freely and the dust gets caked on the face and person, and a week's collection may coat the body before a favourable chance for a wash occurs.



Photo-stating

Survey of India Office, Calcutta, November 1900

1. HAKA COOLY CARRYING LOAD.

One of the common dirty tricks of the Chin is to take a mouthful of water from his gourd and spit it into his hands and then proceed to wash his face. Another is to spit on the body and rub it with his hands, leaving the dirt in circles.

It is popularly believed that the Chins do not laugh and it has been placed on record that this is "due to drink and to his gloomy surroundings." This is a mistake, and although the further north one goes in Chinland the more serious appear the inhabitants, yet one and all appreciate a joke and enjoy a hearty laugh as much as we do, and all can laugh as uproariously as the Burman.

All Chins, both men and women, have a characteristic and repulsive odour, which is the result of the combined smell of pigs' fat, stale tobacco, and filthy garments.

Special characters of separate tribes.

On first acquaintance with the various tribesmen one is struck with the many carriage and regular features of the Haka Chief: Hakas and Siyins. and freemen, whose frank manner and self-assurance are in marked contrast with the bearing of the Siyin. The chief characteristics of the Siyins are the short flat nose, small keen bright eyes, which are never in repose, and the stealthy cat-like movements of body and limbs, as well as the abnormal size of the thighs and calves which seem to have been intended for trunks of twice the size that they carry. The Siyin is an evil-looking person and his exterior clearly illustrates his character; his face is usually disfigured by smallpox, and the hair tightly drawn back gives him a cruel expression. His restless eyes denote that he trusts no man and he knows that no man should trust him. His *tout ensemble* illustrates the character of a man who will deceive his friend with any lie, who accounts it as honourable and more satisfactory to kill a woman than a man as there is no risk to his own life and limb in doing so, and who for the same reason prefers to shoot at the back of his enemy rather than at the chest.

Amongst the Siyins the man who kills a woman and the baby at her breast is accounted to have committed a finer feat than the man who has killed only one man, as two heads are better than one, even if they are those of babes and sucklings.

An instance of how the Siyins will deceive each other occurred some while back, when a Chief was ordered to give up a Burman slave in his possession, whom he claimed to have bought from another Chief a few days previously. Both Chiefs were called on to explain their conduct, and the Limkai Chief admitted that as he knew that the slave would be taken from him he had sold her to the other Chief for a few pigs, having deceived him by saying that the slave was a Naga and not a Burman. The other Chief expostulated at losing both the slave and his pigs, but the Limkai Chief told him that a slave was worth more than a few pigs, and that the exchange would not have been effected if both sides had not considered that they were getting the best of the bargain. He added that any man was justified in deceiving whenever possible, and that for his part he should always lie and deceive whenever he could gain thereby.

The worst fault of the Hakas is avarice ; there is nothing that they will not do for money, and in this respect they are despicable and fall far short of the Northern Chins, who with all their faults are very clannish and loyal to each other. It was the fear of deportation and disarmament and not greed of gain which drove them to hand up outlaws at the close of the Siyin-Nwengal rebellion.

The manner of the Tashons is more quiet than that of other Chins. The business-like way in which the Falam council will settle down and quietly and soberly discuss tribute affairs explains to us, as clearly as their past history, that the tribe owes more to the brains of its Chiefs than to the prowess of its braves for its present leading position in Chinland.

Diplomacy, love of intrigue, and shrewdness are the characteristics of the Tashons. When they attacked the Siyins they always had the Burmans as their allies ; when they attacked Kwungli they invoked the aid of the Hakas ; when British troops entered the hills they encouraged the Siyins to fight and to prolong the futile struggle ; but when the troops arrived at Falam the only weapons they used were their tongues, which poured forth a stream of expostulations, excuses, and promises. Finally, when the Siyins and Nwengals rebelled the Tashons gave them every encouragement, except assistance in men, and when their own border villages were disarmed the Tashons allowed them to suffer in peace, fearing to bring our wrath down on the capital itself if they endeavoured to save them.

Diplomacy is the only word which describes the character of the Tashon. Some day they may feel that they must fight us, or lose their position in the land, and, if they fight, we may be quite certain that every intrigue and trick which cunning can devise has previously been tried and found ineffectual.

Experience has taught us that all Chins are liars and thieves, and the most accomplished thieves in the hills are the Siyins, who in this respect may be classed as a criminal tribe. Thieving a common trait. The Haka and southern villagers are also great thieves and like the Siyins they will work in gangs, some distracting attention, whilst others carry off the booty. Hakas and Siyins have both been known to accept a present and then deliberately steal from the benefactor. The Falam Chiefs, too, although they are so particular in their outward conduct and pretend that they are superior to all other Chins, have been found capable of stealing iron when they thought that they had the chance of doing so and evading detection.

It is marvellous how a Siyin can creep into a post on his stomach and carry off cooking pots, &c., under the very noses of the sentries. He has also entered houses inside our posts and carried off property without disturbing the inmates.

Mode of wearing the hair.

The *coiffure* of the Chins is divided into two distinct fashions : the top-knot on the top of the head and the chignon on the nape of the neck. The Siyins, Soktes, Thados, Yos, and Whenohs are the chignon-wearers, and the Tashons, Yahows, Hakas, and independent southerners are the top-knot men.

The Siyins do their hair in three plaits; the middle plait is composed of the hair on the crown of the head and the other two plaits include the hair on either temple. The three plaits meet on the nape of the neck and are twisted with the loose hair into a ball, which is kept from unrolling by being tied. The Sokte and Yo method of doing the hair is similar except that they have but one plait, the centre or crown one, instead of three.

The Thados do their hair like the Soktes, but with no plait at all.

The Whenohs, who undoubtedly are Lushais pure and simple, and who are the remnants of that tribe which preferred to carry the yoke of the Chins rather than migrate west, do their hair precisely in the same manner as the chignon-wearing clans of Lushais.

The top-knot-wearing Chins coil the whole hair of the head into one ball, which is placed well forward on the crown of the head and almost on the forehead. Ordinarily a common rag is bound round the head and the top-knot. But on special occasions a large white cloth turban with a blue stripe is wound round the head and then is carefully wrapped round and round the elongated ball of hair and assumes the appearance of a white busby and is not only a handsome and imposing head-gear, but also adds a foot to the height of the wearer.

The chignon-wearing Chins either wrap a rag round the hair or wear an ample cloth coil round the temples, which neither covers the ears nor the top of the head.

The Hakas, independent southerners, Whenohs, and Yahows wear large brass skewers in their hair, some being double-pronged and shaped like a jews-harp, without the tongue, and others like English hair-pins, but weighing 3 and 6 ounces. Besides these brass skewers, iron pins 6 inches long, bamboo spikes, and porcupine quills are also worn; these hair-pins are not only used to scratch the head and as an ornament, but also as a weapon in quarrels. It is no uncommon thing to see a man draw his hair-pin and stab his opponent; and we know of several instances of death resulting from the stab of the bamboo spike as well as from the iron and brass pins. Quite recently a southern villager was stabbed to the heart with a bamboo hair-pin in a drunken quarrel at a feast.

The Southern Chin usually carries a wooden comb with bamboo teeth in the hair on the back of the head, and at all odd times he lets down his hair and combs it out carefully and fondly, for it is his greatest pride. A Chief when he has no occupation will sit for hours combing and greasing his hair.

The Siyins and Soktes do not take the same pride in their hair as the southerners, neither do they spend anything like the amount of time in dressing it. This is in a great measure due to the fact that a Siyin cannot satisfactorily plait his own hair himself and depends on his wife or companion to do this for him.

Pigs' fat is freely used as pomatum by both men and women.

Bald-headed men are very rare; more are found amongst the Siyins than elsewhere.

In spite of the care and attention paid to the hair, it is never free from vermin, and men and women picking lice out of each other's hair and killing them by crunching them between the teeth is a loathsome practice and a common sight in all southern villages.

The Haka and all other southern women wear their hair in a ball low Mode of head- down on the nape of the neck. The ball is produced by dress of Chin coiling the hair round a brass two-pronged skewer, women. weighing from 2 to 5 pounds, the object of the great weight of the skewer being to keep the hair well down on the neck. The hair is kept from becoming unwound by means of a bamboo spike which acts as an ordinary hair-pin. These bamboo spikes are often lacquered and prettily engraved and are a favourite gift of young men to their sweet-hearts.

The southern women are very proud of their hair, which is considered the chief point of beauty in woman. It is, however, supposed to be unlucky to compliment a woman on her hair, and for the same reason flowers are never worn in the hair.

The Siyin and Sokte women do their hair in two different ways, the maidens adopting a different style to the mothers of children. The former have three coils: one coil consisting of the back hair is plaited or rolled in a coil and falls down behind, tightly bound at the end with a cord or roll of rag; the hair on either temple and on the corresponding half of the crown is rolled into two coils, which fall respectively in front of either ear, and the ends are bound with a coil of rag to keep them from becoming unrolled.

After becoming a mother the Siyin woman does her hair in two plaits only, the hair being parted in the middle and that on the right side is plaited into a coil and falls over the right ear and similarly the other coil falls on the left side.

Clothing.

When we first occupied the hills and before the advantage of imported clothing was appreciated, we found that the Chins affected two distinct fashions in dress: one being a mantle only and the other being a loin cloth in addition to the mantle.

The Siyins always had a mantle with them, though they often carried it rolled round the waist or in a coil round the shoulders, and it was used for the sole purpose of keeping the body warm and was not required as a covering to nakedness. When in the fields the men always worked stark naked among the women, and even in the village the insufficient covering would often slip off the shoulder and remain unnoticed on the ground. The habits of the Soktes were similar to those of the Siyins in this respect.

The customs of the Hakas, Tashons, and independent southerners were very different to those of the northerners, for they always wore a loin cloth in addition to the mantle which was used for warmth.

The ordinary mantle, which is universal in the hills, is of white rough cotton, and is home-made.

The Tashons, Whenohs, and the Hakas in common with the independent southerners each wear a distinctive tartan, which is worn over the white mantle, but usually only on special occasions.

The colours of the Shunkla tartan are broad red bands separated by black and green bars and crossed with two narrow red, or red and yellow bars. The colours harmonize well and the material from which it is made being from cotton, a cheap as well as a handsome plaid is owned by the tribe.



Photo-etching

Survey of India Office, Calcutta, November 1908

2. SOUTHERN WOMEN WEAVING.

A coarsely made blue cotton mantle with one or two cross bars of red or white, and a white cloth with cross bars of blue or red, comprise the Whenoh plaids.

The plaids of the Hakas and independent southerners are often woven entirely of silk. Red, blue, and green are the colours which predominate, and much fine ornamentation is indulged in. Not only is the material expensive, but the weaving by hand of the plaid is the daily work of quite a year even for the quickest and most experienced Haka woman.

Another very handsome mantle which is woven in the south is a dark blue or black back-ground relieved by broad white bars and white, green, yellow, blue, and red ornamentation.

The mantle and plaid is usually worn like the toga. It passes over the left shoulder, under the right arm and across the chest, and the end thrown over the right shoulder.

The Siyin and Soktes when marching roll their mantle round their waists with a flap falling in front.

The southerners pass two corners under either arm and two corners over either shoulder and tie the four corners together in front of the body and thus leave the arms free.

The weaving of plaids for the men and skirts of similar design for themselves is the daily and only labour performed by the wives of Chiefs and the better class of southern women.

The Siyins and Soktes possess no distinctive tartan as their women are only able to weave a plain cotton cloth which, with blankets raided from Burma, formed the covering of the Siyins before our arrival. Now, however, the popular garb of the Siyins are blankets from Manchester, cast-off clothing of the troops, the Burma putso, and the Indian lungyi.

English shawls and blankets are now much worn by the Soktes, who have also adopted a popular dress in Kuki villages, which consists of a cotton coat which falls nearly to the knee and is shaped on the general lines of a frock coat; a sleeveless coat of the same pattern is also worn.

Hats and coats made of bark, grass, bamboo, and the leaf of the date-palm are worn to protect the body from rain. The hats are large and broad and very like the stiff Kamauk of the Shan. The rain coats are universally worn and the Rawvan village in the south is famous for the industry. The coat is sleeveless and made of strips of fine bark about an inch broad and 4 feet long. Around the arm holes and on the shoulders the strands are tightly rolled and woven and thence fall in thick unbound profusion about the body. The coats are very excellently made and keep the body dry even in heavy and continuous rain.

Boots and sandals are unknown in the hills. If a toe is cut or injured, the Chin will get a strip or two of bamboo and will plait a little stiff basket around and firmly to the toe and thus completely protect it from further injury.

Fashions in the dress of women vary considerably. Our occupation of the hills has been accompanied by an influx of ornaments, but

Dress of Chin women. otherwise has not affected the formerly existing customs, except amongst the Siyin women, who were formerly nude to the point of the hips and who now always appear in public wearing a coat with the back covering the breast and the front open and showing their backs.

Commencing in the south, the further one goes north the shorter are the skirts of the women. All wear the same class of garment, or garments, as it is usual to wear a petticoat under the blue or black, and in the case of Hakas the embroidered cotton skirt. The skirt is an open cloth on the tainein principle, but being more ample does not show the leg as is the case with the Burmese tainein. It is wound once and a half and even twice round the body and is kept in place by a brass or iron girdle which resembles the chain of a cog-wheel and which weighs from 3 to 10 pounds. This girdle, which is manufactured only in the southern villages, is worn round the waist over the skirt. Its weight resting on the hips prevents the garment from slipping off, although a great deal of pulling up and arranging of garments always seems necessary when one comes suddenly across women in the villages as well as in the fields. A girdle of many strings made of a bright shiny grass is often substituted for the metal girdle, and would appear more satisfactory as it admits of being tightened, which the metal girdle does not do.

The Haka and southern women invariably wear a sleeveless home-made jacket which covers the breasts and their ample skirts reach to the ankles.

The skirts of the Tashon women reach below the knee and young and old go nude above the waist, both in and out of the house.

The cotton cloth of the Siyin woman, usually blue or white, commences at the point of the hips and ends half-way to the knee and serves its purpose of hiding actual nakedness. It is always filthy, and whatever its colour before wearing it soon becomes the colour of the soil which exists around the village of the owner.

The well-born southern women weave their skirts themselves and the same good taste in colour and excellence of work is exhibited in these as in the tartans for the men. The dress of slave women is of indigo-dyed cotton cloth.

Besides the ordinary blue and black cotton skirts the Falam women are peculiar in wearing a white skirt, often of English linen. When clean this gives the women a peculiar appearance, as the brown body naked to the waist contrasts strongly with the snowy whiteness of the skirt.

Children and maidens of the Siyin and Sokte tribes wear a dress which, if not peculiar to them, is more affected by them than by any other tribe. It is a cotton strip for a waistband, to which are fastened innumerable strings a foot in length; the waistband, is wrapped twice round the body and therefore there is a double row of strings, which screen the body and which, being knotted and sometimes beaded at the ends, swing and rattle at every movement of the limbs.

Women wear no covering on the head except in the fields, when a hood is worn to keep dirt out of the hair.

The well-to-do women of the south alone take any pride in dress. The Chiefs' wives in Falam and amongst the Tashons and Siyins are as dirty and slatternly as the common people, and amongst the Siyins and Soktes the wives and daughters of Chiefs work in the fields with the slaves.

Earrings and ornaments.

All children shortly after birth have their ears bored and consequently men as well as women wear earrings. The ear is not slit like the Nagas, but merely has a small hole punched through it with a needle or porcupine quill.

The earrings worn are not the brass rings of the Kukis which are seen in the south of Manipur or the large rings of the Nagas, but are merely a cornelian solitaire thread on string.

Besides earrings the men wear necklaces of cornelians, which are bought from the Lushais and which are purchasable in the bazaars of Chittagong and Assam. The necklaces are valued according to the evenness of the stones and the price of individual necklaces varies enormously.

The cornelian is the most prized ornament of the Soktes, Siyins, and Tashons. Although the Hakas collect and preserve these necklaces, they do not wear them so generally as is the fashion in the north, and they do not value them like the sacred Pumtek which is at once the most prized and the most costly possession of the southerner, and is always readily exchangeable for any other valuable, such as cattle, guns, and slaves. In the north the teeth and claws of tiger and bear are often worn round the neck of the men. The teeth of wild cats are frequently seen about the necks of children, and the long tooth of the barking deer is usually amongst the varied collection of odds and ends which hang around the necks of the women.

Every female child and woman throughout the hills wears her necklaces. These may be five or fifty in number, according to her ability to purchase them. They consist chiefly of cornelians strung on string, shells, Indian copper and silver coin, metal buttons, strings of English glass, and locally made brass and silver beads.

The stone necklaces and solitaires are often heirlooms and are regarded with veneration.

The southern women wear bangles of beads; those on the western and northern borders wear heavy brass bangles; and the Siyin, Sokte, and other northern women not only wear a heavy brass coil which winds round and round the wrist half a dozen times, but also metal armlets of brass, iron, and melted telegraph wire. These armlets are the ornaments of the women in times of peace and are chopped up and used as bullets in times of war.

The weight which a woman hangs round her neck at times exceeds 5 pounds, for in addition to the ordinary necklaces the northern women wear one or more large white polished shells which are brought from the western coast and which weigh from half a pound upwards.

The merry-thought of a fowl or some small bone of an animal is often found hung round the neck of a woman and is a memento of the animal which has been sacrificed to the spirits in a time of illness from which she recovered. A tuft of cock's feathers for the same reason decorates the throats of the men.

No anklets are worn by men and women. The Soktes and also the southern Chins tie a piece of string round the leg above the calf and below the knee, which they say supports the muscles in long marches, and occasionally a tiger's claw or a bunch of cock feathers are found attached to these garters. Children also are often seen decorated with strips of the skins of wild animals tied in the same place. In the south a string of small bells is often tied round the stomachs of small children and similar bells are tied round the ankles of babies.

CHAPTER XVI.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS—*continued.**Villages.*

THE villages in the Chin Hills may be divided into three types, the village of the nomadic jhoomer, the village of the professional raider, and the permanent village of those who are sufficiently powerful to resist attack, or who pay blackmail to ensure immunity from raids or tithes to the powerful in return for protection.

The only nomadic jhoomers in the Chin Hills are Thados subordinate to the Kanhow Chief, who reside in the heavy timber on the eastern slopes of the Letha range. These people jhoom and grow rice, and as they have to jhoom fresh land yearly they constantly move the village-site and therefore content themselves with living in bamboo huts thatched with grass, bamboo leaves, or split bamboo stems, and make no attempt to improve the village by planting trees, cutting paths or making compounds.

These jhoomers form an unimportant community in the Chin Hills, as the country is not favourable for rice jhooming, the heavy timber on the eastern slopes of the Letha range demanding excessive labour and the bamboo jungle such as is found in Lushai and in the vicinity of Lunglen on the south of Manipur being very rare.

The village-sites of the professional raider and also the villages of those regularly raided, were chosen solely for the defensive advantages which they offer. All such matters as soil, water-supply and shelter from the wind were secondary considerations. Except in the far south and south-west, which is practically outside our sphere of control, our occupation of the hills has had such an effect in putting a stop to raids and the prosecution of blood feuds that the people by almost universal consent have ceased to keep in repair the artificial fortifications of the villages, and in many cases they have left their fortified and uncomfortable strongholds and have settled down near water, on good soil, and in sheltered positions.

The Vaipe tribe, which has now entirely disappeared from the Chin Hills, has left traces of fortifications in the north which will last for many years to come. Perched on the summit of precipitous peaks they built their villages, and if the approaches were not almost perpendicular they proceeded to so cut away and block the paths that friend and foe alike could only ascend to the heavily stockaded gates in single file.

On the summit of Lunglen peak is found the remains of an ancient Vaipe village, which was defended in a most extraordinary manner by boulders and sungars. Finally, just in front of the fortified gate, the rock had been cut perpendicular for 10 feet, which necessitated the use of a ladder before it could be scaled.

The Yo village of Mwelpi and the Thado village of Kwanum with heavy gates, circles of rifle-pits outside the village fences and other fortified villages. thorny hedges bristling with panjies, were very good types of the fortified village placed on a peak or on a ridge hundreds of feet above the scanty water-supply which did not admit of the whole village drawing water on the same day and necessitated the construction of a succession of large bamboo receptacles in the bed of the stream so that none of the water might be lost. The inhabitants of both these villages now reside close to streams and their present villages are not fortified.

In the Yahow and Whenoh country, and especially in the western Klang-klang tract on the Lushai border, fortified villages still exist. These are mostly small villages, such as Dawn and Shopum, which have until quite recently carried on bitter blood feuds with Lushai villages, in the prosecution of which lives have been regularly lost for a number of years by both sides.

When suitable and sufficient soil is found to raise enough grain for their Ordinary villages. wants the people fix on the site for the village. When they are not habitual raiders or nomads, the most important points connected with the choice of site are shelter from the high winds, proximity to running water and the fields, and capacity for defence. The village should also be so situated as to catch the morning sun.

When the site is chosen, the village is marked off in compounds, and each household constructs its own platforms, builds its own house, and plants its own hedges or in lieu builds a fence.

As the village is nearly always placed on the side of the hills, it is necessary to excavate and make a level platform for the compound, and thus a series of platforms are cut in the face of the mountain. Each platform is surrounded with a timber fence or a cactus hedge and often with both. As there is usually no scarcity of sites, each house has a kitchen garden in the compound.

Sufficient space is left between each compound for a public road, which admits of persons proceeding in single file, and as in course of time the heavy rains pour down the side of the hill and turn the village paths into canals, they are often in a few years cut to a depth of 4 and even 6 feet. This adds to the fortifications of the village.

Usually water is carried into the villages by troughs or wooden leads so as to save the trouble of fetching water from the springs. Water-supply. These leads may frequently be seen winding a mile and more round the hills, spanning deep nullahs and passing over broken ground, before entering the village, when branch leads conduct the water to the large wooden trough which is found in every compound. The branch lead is only used when water is required, and the surplus water after passing through and round the entire village in the main leads wastes itself below the village.

The leads are hewn out of the trunks and boughs of trees and are ordinarily 15-foot boughs scooped out. When it is required to divide the water-supply into two streams, a forked bough is procured, and both prongs being hollowed out, the water branches off through each and is carried on in single pipes as before. The water-supply is of common interest, and all assist in the work of construction and maintenance of the leads.

The village fortifications are also a public matter and all assist in building Village defences. up the fortified gates and in digging the necessary rifle trenches outside the village fence. The life of the country

and thickness of jungle being equal, the Chin expects attack from below and not from above his village, as it is hard for an enemy to approach from above without being seen, and surprise is the one tactic of the Chin.

Rifle-pits flush with the ground and hidden by growing grass and ferns bar all paths at a distance of from 100 yards to 2 miles from the village. Their presence may be usually suspected when the ground suddenly becomes open and the trees and undergrowth have been removed. These rifle-pits are often of very considerable length and never terminate except in a nullah or below the crest of a hill, to ensure if necessary the escape of the defenders, whom it is impossible to hit unless they show above the trench when firing.

The village gate is so narrow that only one man can enter at a time, and to reach this gate a zigzag path and often a tunnel has to be entered. At each turn in the path and at both sides of the gate are stone and wooden sungars and stockades overgrown with briars, cactus, and thorny bushes, which render entrance in face of resistance impossible. Besides the gates, cactus and stiff thorn hedges, palisades, stone breastworks and rifle-pits surround and defend the village.

When attacking a village it is a golden rule never to enter by the gateway unless it has been demolished by guns, but if it is attempted a smart lookout should be kept, as a ton of rock or a tree trunk of similar weight, dislodgable by the foot or body, is very likely to be suspended over the path.

In the Siyin-Sokte, and especially in the Sokte-Nwengal tracts, large trenches are dug and roofed with heavy timber flush with the ground inside the villages; these trenches are maintained as a refuge for the women and children in case of sudden attack. The entrance hole is blocked up and there are some dozen loop-holes through which the defender shoots down any who approaches his underground block-house. In 1889 at Tartan we learnt that Chins cannot be turned out of these underground fortifications without our suffering considerable loss.

In the Thado and northern Kanhow country the hedges and the approaches to some villages are spiked with panjies even in times of peace. It is always well to ascertain if the approaches are spiked before wandering off the paths in this neighbourhood. At Sinnum in 1892 several of our people who happened to wander off the road were wounded with spikes.

Villages are not always named at haphazard. The names of the founders of a clan, such as Limkai and Toklaing, are given to some; others are named after the jungle or hill on which they are built, such as Dabon,¹ Mwelpi,² and Taksat,³ but the origin of the names of most of the southern villages the people are unable to explain.

Houses.

The houses in the Haka jurisdiction are the finest in the hills, being considerably larger than those of the Tashons and their tributaries.

Individual houses in the Siyin-Sokte tract were very large, but they have all been destroyed during the various recent expeditions and it will be many years before fine houses are seen again in their country.

¹ 'Dak' a precipice, and 'bon' a ledge, *i.e.*, the village built on a ledge.

² 'Mwel' a hill, 'pi' large, *i.e.*, the village on the big hill.

³ 'Tak' a fire tree, 'sat' to cut, *i.e.*, the village in the pine-tree clearing.

As the houses of all are built on the same general principles and vary in size and quality according to the wealth or poverty of the owner, it is necessary only to describe the house of Haka house.

The house is one-storeyed, built of plank, with a thatch roof, and is 20 feet high by 50 to 200 feet long and some 30 feet broad, according to the position and affluence of the owner. It has no windows or chimneys and the smoke escapes as it can.

It is built off the ground and underneath is the pig and cattle pen. In front is a long platform and the house is divided into a front verandah and front room, a back room, a closet and a back verandah.

It must be borne in mind that the village is built on the side of a hill, and therefore when the house rests some 3 feet off the ground on the up-hill side it is perhaps 15 and 20 feet off the ground and supported by long posts on the down-hill side. The props which support the house are firmly placed and the floor is always even in spite of the enormous slant of the hillside.

In front of the house is a yard quite flat and cut out of the side of the hill. A raised platform from 20 to 100 feet in length occupies the whole length of the lower side and is supported by long posts like the lower side of the house. This platform is railed so as to prevent small children and drunken men falling 15 or 20 feet into the next-door neighbour's compound. It is used by the men to sit, loll about and drink, when they are not busy, and by the women to weave on in warm weather.

The floor of this platform is made of pine planking, the boards being inferior to those used in the flooring of the house, which are particularly noticeable for their great length and breadth and which are fitted together with skill and without the assistance of nails.

The Wunthu Chief's house, which is accounted the finest in the hills, is planked with enormous and faultless boards, the largest measuring 5 feet 4 inches in breadth, and is of great length.

Pine is the most common planking used, but walnut, teak, and other wood is not uncommon in the south, whilst a red wood which resembles mahogany was formerly greatly used for the floors of the Siyin and Sokte Chiefs houses.

The roof of the house protrudes or overhangs the front verandah, which is enclosed on three sides and decorated with the skulls of animals hung in rows on the walls and piled up on the ground.

Sometimes as many as 300 skulls are found in this verandah and represent not necessarily the game killed by the owner of the house, but also that killed by his father and even his grandfather before him. Amongst these trophies are found the skulls of elephants, rhinoceros, bison, gorral, serrao, deer of several kinds, bear, boar, monkeys, also heads of large cat-fish and mahseer, skulls of the hornbill, vulture, and eagle, and odds and ends, such as the gall-bags of animals, honey-comb and feathers.

The heads of human beings are never brought inside the village or placed among these trophies; they are always stuck on posts outside the village.

In the south the heads of tigers and panthers are not placed in the collection in the verandah and are not brought into the village, but the Northern Chins hang up these heads in common with the others inside their houses.

Besides the heads of wild animals the skulls of domestic mithun buffalo, pigs, goats, and dogs which have been killed at feasts are included in the collection of skulls.

Anyone wishing to be informed of the class of game which is found in any particular neighbourhood has only to pay a visit to the collection of skulls in the verandahs of the houses in the village.

On passing into the house through the verandah one is astonished at finding it so dark, that it is impossible for some moments to identify persons and objects. The southerners explain that wind enters the same apertures as light and that they prefer warmth and darkness to light and wind. The northern people, however, confess that with only one entrance to their houses they find it impossible to keep out thieves, and that if they had more openings into the house they would have no property left at all.

The front room contains the main fireplace and the sleeping places of the Chief and his wife, and here are kept the family trinkets, which are deposited in receptacles under the plank sleeping-places or on shelves arranged all round the room. The food of the family is also cooked in this room.

The back room, which is by far the larger, is entered through a hole in the wall, and contains one or two fireplaces, according to the size of the house. This is the room usually occupied by the whole household including the slaves, and in it the slaves cook their food; it is also the guest chamber of the house, where guests and strangers who happen to want a roof may sleep. Here also on one side of the room the girls of the house sleep, and on the other side sleep, not only the slaves, but also the would-be sweethearts of the girls, whom custom allows to sleep in the same room as the maiden of their affections, but always on the opposite side of the room.

In this room is stored the food-supply of the household, which consists chiefly of millet, beans, and Indian-corn contained in huge baskets; also the cooking utensils, which consist of huge brass, copper, earthen and wooden pots and vessels, as well as implements of husbandry, weapons of war and the chase, gongs and the liquor pots which play such a leading part in all feasts and on almost every occasion.

When a feast is given this is the room in which the party sits all night drinking and talking round the fires and where the young men wrestle.

The next room is the closet, which is always above the pig pen and is entered through a hole in the wall. This closet plays an important part in the manners and customs of the people and will be referred to further on when the subject of gunpowder is dealt with.

The back verandah is used in much the same manner as the platform in front of the house, but the men do not frequent it much. It is chiefly used by the women when weaving or performing their toilet.

The thatch of the house is often 5 or 6 feet long; it is laid on a foot thick and is often not removed when the house requires re-thatching, the new thatch being piled on over the old.

All Chin houses smell disgustingly, as is to be expected when the house is a combined dwelling and pig-pen. Vermin of all kinds infest the houses, and if heavy rain compels the European to sleep in a Chin house he must not expect to pass a comfortable night.

The labour of building a house is enormous and a house is not satisfactorily completed under from three to ten years, for not only is the amount of material used very large, but also poles and planks have to be felled and dragged some miles to the village after they are properly seasoned.



Bureau of India Office, Calcutta, November 1905.

Photo-ethn.

11. CHIN HOUSE, HAKA.

A tree usually produces but two planks. When it is felled it is split in half and both halves are dressed and trimmed until two flat planks and piles of chips alone remain of the original trunk. A small heavy-headed axe is used, and is usually considered by us as an inferior tool. This is not the case, as its lightness combined with its balance and sharpness enables the Chin to fell a very large number of trees of moderate girth in the day. For moderate-sized timber the Chin axe is superior to ours, though for heavy timber our heavy axes are by far the superior implement.

The axe handle is not fitted into the head as is customary with us, but has a hole bored or burned through its end, into which is fitted the axe-head, which tapers into a four-sided shank. After the tree is split into two the axe-head is taken out of the handle and replaced with the face at right-angles to the handle and is thus transformed into an adze with which to chip, trim, and smooth the planks.

The labour of bringing the planks to the village is so great that the people have to help each other to drag them to the village, and it has become a regular custom for the man who brings planks to the village to provide his neighbours with liquor even when they do not assist in the work. When a Chief builds a house all his subordinate villagers have to assist in cutting and dragging timber free of all cost.

In the kitchen garden are found chiefly tobacco, melons, pumpkins, cucumbers, chillies, verbena, and other herbs for cooking.

The garden.

It is also an orchard, in which grow plantains, oranges, citrons, peaches and sweet-limes.

In the yard in front of the houses of the Hakas, Shunklas and other southerners is the family vault, in which is interred any of the family who dies a natural death. Children and slaves

The burial-ground.

are never buried in the family vault but in the garden.

The setting up of the carved posts of the compound fence in front of the house is always an important ceremony in the Southern Hills and only the rich can afford this dignity, as a feast

House-posts.

has to be given to the entire village by the person who sets up an ornamental entrance to his compound. The carved posts are usually of oak.

The Siyins and Soktes never bury their dead inside the village. They do not pay any attention to the decoration of the compound

Special customs of Siyins and Soktes.

fence, and the slave men as a rule sleep on a large shelf in the verandah and not inside the house. The young men do not flock in numbers to sleep in the same house

as the girl whom they admire. A bachelor repairs alone to the house in which lives the girl of his choice and he does not, as is the custom among the Hakas, sleep on the opposite side of the room to the girl, but sleeps with her openly and without reproach to either party.

Domestic animals.

The domestic animals include mithun, pigs, goats, dogs, cats, and fowls. All these are eaten by the Siyins and Soktes. The Tashons say that they do not eat dog and the Hakas neither cat dog nor goat, giving as their reason that dog's flesh is rank and that goat's flesh smells.

The pigs are the scavengers of the village and are considered the greatest delicacy as food. The highest compliment which

Pigs.

can be paid to a guest is to kill a pig for his entertainment. The pig is killed in a repulsive manner. It is laid on its side and

a bamboo skewer, taken from the hair of a man, or a wooden spike, is driven through its side and into the heart, which is then stirred about, and the pig dies without losing a drop of blood. The blood is then carefully collected and is cooked as blood sausages.

There is only one method of measuring the size of the pig, and that is with a piece of cane or creeper passed round the body immediately behind the fore legs, and pigs are always described as so much in girth.

The goat is a handsome, white animal with a black face, the hair of the back being long and hanging down the sides nearly to the ground. They are, however, small and have delicate lungs, which accounts for there being so few in the hills in spite of the rapidity with which they breed. Goats and mithun are never milked by the Chins as no Kuki ever drinks milk, considering it unclean. The Chins tell us that they are afraid to drink the milk of an animal for fear of becoming like it in nature.

Goats.

Dogs.

There are two breeds of dogs in the Hills, the ordinary pariah dog and the wild long-haired bushy-tailed dog which has been tamed and which is a most handsome but treacherous animal.

Dogs are kept in the south as watch dogs and for sacrificial use, and in the north the dog not only guards the house and is sacrificed to the spirits, but is also devoured with more relish than any other animal except the pig.

Fowls.

The fowls are of very superior type as compared with the ordinary Burmese or Indian village fowl: they are somewhat of the Dorking type in form, though lacking as a rule the fifth toe; they are square-bodied, broad-breasted and short-legged. The birds are of all colours, but the major proportion are that of the red game.

Pile cocks and jet-black hens are common, but black cocks are very scarce. They are fair layers, the eggs being in proportion to the size of the birds and they are capital sitters and mothers. A very excellent table fowl is produced by a cross with the Indian game.

Mithun.

The Chins tell us that the *Gavæus frontalis* is not a separate animal to the *Gavæus guarus*, and that their mithun are the results of a cross between the wild bison bull and the common cow. They explain that the tame cows of the plains are purposely herded in the habitats of the bison, and that the cows are covered by the bison bulls. The half-breed is considered a poor animal and it is not until the fourth generation that the animal has reached the stage of the mithun. For sacrificial purposes the animal should be quite black and should be four breedings removed from the common cow. To the uninitiated the small size and the straight frontal bone of the mithun is the only difference between it and the bison. The mithun plays an important part in sacrifices, feasts, and in the price paid for a wife. In buying or selling mithun the size of the animal and the age is never spoken of. The one measurement which is taken into consideration is the length of the horns, and whenever a mithun is awarded as compensation we always find the greatest difficulty in satisfying both parties that the horns of the animal are the exact length of the award.

Ordinarily the mithun are quite tame and are herded near the villages and brought home and penned in the compounds at night. At Haka and some other villages, however, there is a large semi-wild herd of mithun,



Survey of India Office, Calcutta, November 1944.

5. CARVED ENTRANCE TO COMPOUND, SOUTH CHIN HILLS.

Photo-etching

which consists of cows and mithun in all the various stages of the cross; they are allowed to roam at pleasure and are watched and driven back if they roam too far from the village. When one is required it has to be shot as it cannot be caught.

When a tame mithun is to be slaughtered it is tied up and kept without food and drink for three days. This has the effect of making the flesh tender, which is important as the flesh is devoured within an hour of the death of the animal.

The common cow and the buffalo of the plains is occasionally found in the villages. Sagyilain has a small herd of cows and Cows and buffaloes. the Hakas own a large herd of buffaloes, which, like their herd of mithun, are allowed to wander freely and are but very occasionally rounded up. Although the Siyins and Soktes formerly raided large quantities of buffaloes from Burma, they invariably slaughtered and ate them at the feasts.

Food.

Grain, not flesh, is the staple food of the Chin, and although he eats flesh

Staple food. ravenously whenever he gets the chance, he by no means eats it every week. The Chin is without any caste prejudices and will eat with anyone and (except that dogs and goats are not universally eaten in the south) he may be said to eat every kind of flesh except of man and tiger.

The food is cooked in the households of the rich by slaves, and by the women of the household when there are no slaves. At feasts Chief and slave, man and woman, eat together, but ordinarily the family eat their meal together and that which remains is afterwards eaten by the slaves and the dogs. When the crop is good and food is abundant the slave lives like his master, but when there is scarcity he subsists chiefly on the boiled root of the plantain tree flavoured with chillies and salt.

There is but one recognized method of cookery, and food, whether flesh or cereal, is always boiled. When there is a superabundance of meat, strips of flesh are broiled over the fire and are thus preserved, but roasting and frying are quite unknown and unpractised.

When a pig or dog is killed it is invariably impaled with a pole, which passes through the body out of the mouth and the animal on the centre of the pole is held by two men at either end over a fire. This is not intended to do more than singe off the hair and the hide, and the flesh invariably finds its way into the pot before it is eaten.

The Siyins eat raw meat with relish, and when on their way to Rangoon in 1893 a dozen of them stole the beef which had been bought for fifty men and hastily devoured the whole lot raw before it could be taken from them.

The daily food of the Chin is usually millet, Indian-corn, yams, sweet-potatoes, beans of various sorts, including the *aunglauk*.
Ordinary meal. The meal consists of a spinach soup made out of pumpkins or leaves and some boiled grain; the soup is served in an earthen jar and the grain in a basket; both are placed on the floor and the household sit round each with a gourd dipper, which they dip into the soup with the one hand whilst they take fists full of boiled grain out of the basket with the other. The food is often highly flavoured with a chutney made out

of chillies, onions, ginger and salt ground up together. The r   of a fish dried in the sun, and highly spiced with chillies, is a delicate condiment.

The Chin has three regular meal hours, daylight, noon, and sunset, and although he then eats enormously he will, when he gets the chance, eat between whiles. It is erroneous to consider the Chin a poor half-starved creature: he has a voracious appetite, which he gratifies, and the Burmans best acquainted with the hills assert that the Chin eats fully three times as much rice or millet as they can.

Rice is the favourite food, but it is not often procurable; millet is the staple food and is preferred to pulses, Indian-corn, and roots. The yams and sweet-potatoes grow to great size and good quality, and are usually eaten mixed with beans.

The *aunglauk* is a large white bean which contains sulphur and is poisonous in its original state; it is therefore taken out of the pods and placed in baskets, which are deposited in a running stream and prevented from being carried away by heavy stones laid on the top of the baskets. The bean when it is first placed in the water is as hard as wood and it is not removed until it is as soft as clay and has assumed a pale bluish colour. It is then boiled and eaten, mixed usually with millet.

The streams in which these baskets are soaking emit a very offensive odour, and care should be taken to drink above and not near the village as the water is much affected by these decomposing beans. This bean will be discussed further on and when the subject of gunpowder is being dealt with, and it is only as an article of food that it is noticed here. In its primarily poisonous quality and the esculent properties which it acquires after soaking the bean strikingly resembles the root of the *Jatropha manihot*, from which we derive arrowroot. We have had instances of Europeans and Natives of India poisoning themselves by cooking and eating the bean without its having been first soaked and softened in water. Three beans are sufficient to poison the consumer.

Salt is much appreciated by all Chins, and as very little, and that of an inferior brackish taste, is procured in the hills, English salt is freely imported from Burma.

The pots in which food is cooked are either brass vessels obtained from Manipur, Assam and Chittagong, or copper-pots bought from the Burmans; the latter are the cause of half the sickness in the hills, as deaths from diarrh  a, the effects of copper-poisoning, are frequent and the people so far have turned a deaf ear to all advice on the subject.

Locally made wooden platters and bowls are very common throughout the hills and are made with skill, especially when it is considered that the knife and the axe are the two tools which are used in their construction. Earthen chatties and bamboo buckets contain the water for household purposes.

Tobacco and liquor

The tobacco plant is universally grown in the hills, usually in the kitchen gardens in the villages and along the banks of the streams in the fields. The leaf is small and is cured by merely drying it in the sun or over the fireplace. When it is dry it is rolled into balls.



Survey of Liana Offshoots, Chapultepec, November 1960

Zabala-Gonzalez

19. MITHAN.

Women throughout Chinland smoke unceasingly, not only for their own pleasure, but also to supply the men with nicotine water.

Collection and use of nicotine.

The pipes of the women are "hubble-bubbles" with a clay bowl, a bamboo or gourd water receptacle and metal stem. The smoke passes from the bowl into the gourd or bamboo receptacle and impregnates the water with nicotine. When this nicotine water is sufficiently flavoured it is poured into a gourd which the southern women carry in their baskets and which the northern women carry round their necks, and from this the nicotine gourds of the men are filled. Every man sips this nicotine: he does not drink it, he merely keeps it in his mouth for a time and then spits it out. His general procedure is the same as the American's, the only difference being that the nicotine enters the Chin's mouth in a liquid state, whilst that of the American enters in solid form as "fine cut" or "plug." Neither intentionally swallows nicotine.

The nicotine gourds of the men are often very highly ornamented with ivory stoppers and painted with vermilion, and as nicotine colours them as it does a wooden pipe, they take a very pretty polish.

The Thado and Sokte men are great smokers; the Siyins are beginning to smoke English pipes, but when we first came to the

Smoking.

Hills they hardly if ever smoked at all. The Shunklas and their tributaries smoke regularly, but in the south only the elderly men smoke regularly, and it is uncommon to see youths smoking at all. The practice of spitting on the tobacco to make it burn slowly is universal.

The style of pipes varies. The Thados smoke a short metal pipe with both

Pipes.

stem and bowl made of brass or iron; amongst the Yahows and Shunklas a heavy bamboo bowl with a 3- or 4-foot stem is smoked; and the Soktes smoke, besides a bamboo bowl, a bowl made of mixed clay and pigs' dung and baked like a clay pipe.

The most common pipe in the hills is a bamboo bowl lined with copper or other metal to prevent it from burning, and a bamboo stem a foot long. In the Tashon country, especially in the west, curious brass pipes are cast in moulds. The stems of these pipes are often ornamented with the figures of man, horse, elephant, hornbill and bison.

To light the pipe flint and steel, which almost every Chin carries, is used. The flint and steel are both imported and the tinder used is either cotton or puff ball.

"Yu" or "zu" is the name given to the liquor of the country; it is made

Chin liquor.

from rice, various millets, or Indian-corn, according to the staple crop of the neighbourhood. Only amongst the Hakas, on the immediate south of Manipur and on the Lushai border, is rice liquor found; elsewhere liquor is always made of millet and very occasionally of Indian-corn. The method of preparing the liquor is simple: a quantity of millet is placed in an elongated jar and is damped with water, thus causing it to ferment. Fermentation is usually assisted by the introduction of ferment, which is kept from each brew to assist the next. It is left in this condition until required, and a pot of liquor which has fermented for 30 days and more is superior to that which has only fermented for a week. When the liquor is required the pot is brought forth and the mouth is closed with leaves, a hollow reed is passed through the millet almost to the bottom and water is poured into the jar. The liquor is now ready and is either drunk by being sucked out of the jar through the reed

or is run off into a receptacle by means of a second reed, which is connected with the upright one in the jar by an inverted V-shaped joint of bees-wax or metal and which acts, when sucked with the tips until the stream commences to flow, as a syphon.

Drunkenness universal. Lieutenant Macnabb in a pamphlet on the Chins thus correctly describes the Chins' extraordinary taste for liquor :—

"The great and universal vice amongst the Chins is drunkenness: men, women, and even babies at their mothers' breasts all drink, and a state of intoxication is considered as creditable as it is pleasant. No event is complete without liquor, and nothing is an offence when committed under the influence of liquor. Not to ply a visitor with liquor is considered the height of discourtesy, and the warmth of a man's reception is gauged by the number of pots of liquor broached for him."

The liquor varies in taste as well as in strength, and because one has drunk a quart of one man's liquor without feeling the effects, it does not necessarily follow that a quart of another man's liquor will not go to the head, and the first cupful drawn from the pot is stronger than the last. The taste is not unlike cider. It is a most refreshing drink after a hot march, and though it is unwise to drink it whilst actually marching, it certainly pulls one together more quickly than any other stimulant in times of great fatigue. To get the true taste of the liquor the best way is to suck it out of the jar, for after it has been put in a gourd its taste is spoiled by the sour remains of the former contents of the bottle.

It speaks well for the quality of the liquor that the Chin, although an habitual drunkard from his early childhood, lives to a good old age. A child and its great-grandfather may often be seen drinking together at the feasts.

The liquor being made from the grain eaten as food, the Chin during drunken bouts can subsist for days without touching solid nourishment, and it is a common practice to take a handful of fermenting millet from a pot to be eaten as food on a journey.

Except by the Falam Chiefs, who receive enormous tribute, rent, and fecs from their numerous villages, and who can thus afford to drink *su*, the people drink water at meals, and only drink liquor at feasts, wakes, and on other special occasions; but if the crop is a good one an excuse for a daily drink is never wanting.

Distilled spirit is sometimes made in the following way. A pot of fermented *su* is partly filled with water, a bent tube is inserted, and the mouth of the pot firmly sealed; the pot is then put on the fire and boiled and a strong spirit is run off out of the tube into a receptacle. The liquor is not popular as the quantity of grain which supplies a potful of *su* only supplies a pint or two of spirit, which is very intoxicating and of a bitter repulsive flavour.

Diseases and their treatment.

The diseases of the Chin are chiefly bowel-complaints of all sorts, skin diseases, and ophthalmia. Medicines he has none, but of surgery he has an elementary knowledge.

The Chin does not recognize that because he has eaten out of a foul cooking-pot his stomach is deranged, or that having slept out in the wet he has got a touch of rheumatism. All his ailments are laid at the door of one of the legion of evil-spirits, who are immediately sacrificed to and begged to withstay the hand and recall the sickness.



Photo-etching

Survey of India Office Calcutta, November 1908

20. WOMEN'S PIPES.



Survey of Public Opinion, Oslo, Norway

Photo: [illegible]

9. DRINKING ZU.

A man with ophthalmia has been known to kill a fowl and scrape the naked eye with the merry-thought bone, and thus blind himself entirely. In the north when a sick person is sinking and faith in sacrifices in the particular case is lost, the friends and relations gather round the house of the sufferer with guns and gongs to frighten away the spirit. By the firing of the one and the beating of the other, the patient's last moments are rendered horrible, if not considerably shortened.

A broken limb is placed in splints lined with raw cotton and is correctly bound up; an injured toe has a little bamboo basket plaited round it and is thus protected from further injury; Chin surgery. a burn is greased with pig's fat; a thorn is always cut out of the flesh, and a bullet is never allowed to remain in the body unless it happens to lie in some part of the body interference with which is recognized as inadvisable.

Skill in surgery is only shown in one treatment, and that is wet cupping for swellings, sprains, and all inflammations. Several small cuts are made in the skin of the afflicted part and a small horn, usually that of the goral, cut level at the base and with a hole in the point is placed over and pressed firmly round the punctured skin; the air is then sucked out of the horn and the hole plugged up with bees-wax, and by this means several ounces of blood are drawn from the body, to the relief of the afflicted part.

It has been recorded that Chins will fly at the mere mention of the surgeon's knife. This was true five years ago and before the people realized that our surgeons knew more about these matters than they themselves did. Now although they fear the knife, they do come forward to be operated on by the surgeon when they are satisfied that they are deserted by the spirits. A Sagyilain Chin was carried into camp with cancer of the foot and leg. He was told that he was dying and the only chance was to amputate the leg. He replied that he would sooner die quickly by the knife than slowly by the disease, which had tormented him for years. His leg was amputated, and he now hobbles about on a wooden leg of his own manufacture and is never weary of singing the praises of the doctor, who not only removed the pain, but enabled him to leave his bed and get out into the open again.

The Chin, like the Burman, is a marvellous person for quick recoveries from bullet wounds and cuts: bones which have been fractured by snider bullets are known to have satisfactorily reunited; bullet wounds in the body which have healed are often noticed, and persons who have been horribly burnt by falling into fire when drunk are often met with.

There is a man in the Kanhow country who was mauled by a bear four years ago; his right eye and the whole of his cheek, most of the nose, and part of the jaw were carried away, and on one side of the head he resembles a skull as all the bone and teeth are exposed. This man has carried loads for us during the last two years, and he dances at all the feasts.

Abortion, which is practised in the north by unmarried women, is not effected by drugs, but by external and severe treatment.

Leprosy is known: we have seen several cases at Dimlo in the northern hills where the sufferers have lost fingers and toes. The disease is said to have been known at Rumklao and other places, but no authenticated cases have been observed.

Lepers marry like other people, but the whole commugity at Dimlo is considered unclean, and when an attempt was made to amalgamate that

small village with others, it was found that no one would accept any of the Dimlo households for fear of introducing the disease into other villages.

Goitre is prevalent, though confined to certain tracts; the outlying Tashon villages on the north of the Manipur river are particularly afflicted with it. In Shinshi, Yawlu and the surrounding villages are found cretins, who go on all fours, mix with the pigs in the muck, and are incapable of speech. In the south goitre is found more markedly at Rawvan than elsewhere. The water in the hills is hard and is highly impregnated with lime.

There are two epidemics known in the hills, cholera and smallpox; at the first appearance of either a hue-and-cry is raised, and the whole village breaks up, each household going to its own cultivation hut in the fields; the people thus being scattered over miles of hillside the contagion is usually checked. When a village becomes affected it is put in quarantine by all other villages and sentries are posted on the roads, and a man from an affected village would be assuredly shot if he attempted to approach another village. Smallpox claims more victims than cholera; it rarely occurs, but when it does it decimates the population.

No case of intentional poisoning has ever been heard of in the hills, although a poison is used to kill fish in the streams.

CHAPTER XVII.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS—*continued.*

Feasts.

"A MAN should drink, fight, and hunt, and the portion for women and slaves is work" is an adage of the Siyins. Not only they, but all Chins live as closely as possible in accordance with its sentiment, and one never visits a village without seeing an assemblage of people sitting round the liquor pots, while usually the beating of gongs announces that the feast is on a considerable scale.

Birth and marriage, death and sacrifice, the payment of a debt, the courting of a sweetheart, the making of an agreement, the slaughter of an enemy, and the shooting of a deer, all demand a feast, and a feast implies a drinking bout sometimes of many days' duration. Naturally the style of the festival varies in accordance with the importance of the occasion and with the number of liquor pots which the host can afford to broach; thus the advent of a visitor may call for the drinking of but a pot of liquor, while the death of a Chief necessitates that the whole village as well as the Chiefs and friends who flock in from the surrounding country must be kept for days in a state of intoxication.

The request of a man for a daughter of the house in marriage necessitates a drink for all the relations of the girl, who briefly discuss her value whilst they attend to the more important business of emptying the liquor pots.

The slaying of a tiger, an elephant, or an enemy demands that the whole village should feast.

A man who gives a feast invites his friends or the whole village, as the case may be, to attend. There is no hesitation on their part, and as a mark of friendship and appreciation those who can afford it bring a pot of liquor with them to enable the guests to prolong the pleasure of remaining drunk.

When the guests arrive mithun and pigs are produced. The former are tied by the horns to a strong stake in the compound in front of the house and are usually slain quickly by being shot through the head or heart, although occasionally in the south bows and barbed arrows are used to afford sport to the boys at the expense of the agonies of the beast.

Description of a feast.

As soon as the animals are killed they are cut up, and after being singed over a fire, the pigs whole, and the mithun in pieces, they are thrown into copper or brass pots, arranged in rows, and are boiled.

The killing and cutting up of the animals is a very loathsome sight : no jointing of the carcass is attempted, but lumps of meat are cut off anyhow, the bones are fractured and severed with axes, the butchers and the children helping them becoming splashed with blood from head to foot, whilst their arms to the elbow are bathed in gore.

The style of bringing up the children is very noticeable at feasts, for the urchins revel in the blood and drink till they are as drunk as their parents, to whom they apply very filthy epithets when annoyed.

Whilst the animals are being cut up and prepared by many willing hands, three or more masters of the ceremonies entertain the other guests, who sit in long rows, each with a liquor pot between his knees, sucking hard at the tube and talking but little ; meanwhile slaves replenish the pots with water or draw off with the syphon liquor for those who have not been fortunate enough to secure a pot to themselves. At this stage everyone is serious and silent, for it would be absurd to talk when the lips can be so much better employed in drinking.

In the north when the food is announced men, women, and children collect into circles of half a dozen, and using both hands devour almost in silence the flesh and grain. Women and slaves wait on the guests, throwing a lump of meat into any basket which is empty. Gradually the people leave the food baskets and return to the liquor pots, where they sit and drink, at first quietly, but gradually becoming more noisy, until gongs of all sizes and horns are brought and the dancing commences.

In the south the guests do not sit down to the meal at haphazard, for the food is arranged in rows round the room and each man is seated next to his female partner, whom he feeds by placing the food in her mouth whilst she pays the same attention to him.

The music consists of beating the horns and the gongs in regular time in the north, the dancers in a large circle with arms locked round each other swing the body and keep step, singing a low mournful tune to the accompaniment.

The singing is of a weird description, but tune there is undoubtedly, and as the singers take different parts it is not displeasing to the ear from a distance.

In the south the Chins hold hands and dance round and round like children, and they also perform singly a dance which is neither the English step-dance nor the Burmese motion, though it consists of the main features of both. As the night wears on the revellers become hopelessly drunk : some sit moodily in corners, some lie with their faces in the dirt, others quarrel and fight with fists, whilst others again devote their attention to the women, who are as drunk as themselves.

At feasts in the south guns are generally sent to a neighbour's house to be out of the reach of the drunken and irresponsible assemblage, and the

frequent quarrels are therefore usually decided with fists, a stone, or a billet of wood. In the north, however, guns which are supposed to be loaded with powder only, are fired at intervals throughout the feast and many accidents result from their presence.

In the south, where hair-pins are worn, quarrellers generally draw their hair skewers and stab each other, often seriously and occasionally fatally. A very curious weapon is often carried concealed in the garb of the southerners, which is on the principle of the knuckle-duster, being a round stone to which is bound a piece of flint, shaped like the arrow-heads of primeval times. This is produced in quarrels, and one blow on the head or in the face of the adversary generally knocks him senseless, and leaves him a scar to carry for the rest of his life. In the south the majority of Chins have deep cuts and scars all over the face, of which they are as proud as the German student is of his mutilated features.

Recently during a feast the Head Chief of Haka struck down another Chief's slave and bit off his ear entirely; a few weeks later he himself was badly cut about the head and face with the flints of the slave's friends.

The recognized rule that "no act of a man is a crime when drunk" was a necessary arrangement as all are so drunk that at the end of a feast they often cannot say how many nights it has lasted, and they have to ask how their heads became gashed or whether burns on their bodies are the result of having fallen or being pushed into the fire.

When sufficiently sober the young men often wrestle. This is an exercise in which they excel and the champion well deserves the title. After throwing one man the victor has to tackle the next, and if he throws him he goes for the next, and so on, no such thing as heats being practised. The contest is started by the two smallest boys, the winner takes on the next boy, and finally the last struggle is between a man who may have already had a dozen bouts and a perfectly fresh man. Broken bones are common results of these contests.

The heads of the animals killed at the feast adorn the verandah of the host's house, who in the north sets up a 50-foot bamboo in the centre of his yard to commemorate the event. A Chief's house is usually detected by the large bunch of lofty bamboos which stands in front of it.

Any meat which is over from the feast is divided and sent round to the houses of the guests. No man comes unbidden to a feast and the invitation is usually conveyed by a present of a piece of meat and the recipient understands its purport. At feasts slaves and Chiefs, women and children, all eat and drink in common, and throughout the disgusting debauch the host exhibits a lavish hospitality, which would do credit to the host of civilization.

Marriage customs.

The marriage customs in the north vary from those in the south, and they will be dealt with separately.

In the Siyin and Sokte tract female virtue is not expected, and the young man openly cohabits with his mistress in the house of the girl's parents. It is considered improper to become a mother before marriage. This idea probably originated owing to the boys sleeping with their female relations, and the Chins understand that it is unwise for those too closely related to marry: When an unmarried girl is with child she procures abortion.

Marriages are usually arranged by the parents of the young men, who cast about for a good match for their sons. The essence of being a good match does not consist in face and form, and cannot be dowry, for there is none. The girl is judged by the character of her work in the fields and house. If she is a good tiller of the soil she is a good match, whatever her looks and antecedents may be.

As soon as the choice is made an ambassador is sent to the parents of the girl with a present of liquor and he broaches the subject. The price of the girl is discussed over the liquor, and if an agreement is arrived at a message is sent to that effect; if the parents refuse to accept the proposal on behalf of the girl, they return as many pots of liquor to the suitor's house as they received.

Parents practically sell their daughters to be wives, and they demand a certain price for them; love is not taken into consideration at all. The facts are that the girl cultivates her parents' fields and performs the household duties, and if any man wants her to do the same for him, he must compensate the parents for the loss of an able-bodied servant.

The value of a girl depends on the amount which can be wrung out of the suitor's family, and a slave to do the work of the girl is generally required; mithun, beads, gongs, guns, slaves, and grain all figure in the price demanded for a bride.

If the parents have accepted the suit of the young man a day is fixed, and his parents give a feast, to which the relations of both sides of the family are invited. The bride is then brought to their house, and the wise man of the village, who has been summoned, kills a fowl and examines the liver, and pronounces to the assembly that the spirits either approve or do not approve of the marriage.

The omen and the decision is usually favourable. If not, it is made so by the examination of a second fowl's liver, and the girl then enters the house, being pinched and pricked with bamboo pins as she does so, which for the honour of her lord she must bear without flinching. The old women and wise people watch her entrance into the house and note which foot enters first and what she first says and does, and they prophesy good and evil according to her behaviour.

The marriage is now completed and the guests forget the young people and give their undivided attention to draining the liquor pots with all speed, the feast lasting for one or many days according to the affluence of the bridegroom's parents.

The girl lives with her husband as his wife after entering the house with him in public. She brings no dowry but her wardrobe (the clothes she stands up in) and the beads that she wears.

The four clans of the Siyin tribe intermarry; they consider it disrespectful for the younger to marry before the elder brother, and they do not go outside the tribe for wives.

The Soktes, Kanhow, and Yos intermarry, but the Chiefs are particular to marry women of the true Sokte stock, and to marry into the Dim or other family of such plebeian origin is considered a disgrace. Thus, before How-chinkup, the Kanhow Chief, was regularly recognized by us as the Chief of the clan, the low origin of his mother was openly flung in his face by his cousins.

In the south the slaves are not married or given in marriage, but cohabit with other slaves or are treated as concubines by the Chiefs.

Marriage cus- The free but poor people marry and ape the arrangements
oms in the south. of the Chiefs.

The marriage of a Chief of his Nupitak or chief wife is a most elaborate and expensive affair, and often he cannot afford this until he is advanced in life. He, however, consoles himself meanwhile with one or more Nupisun or lesser wives, whom he purchases from their relations at a low price as they are of common stock.

If a young man wishes to marry the daughter of a Haka Chief he must be prepared to pay something like 10 mithun, 50 pigs, 10 guns, a similar number of gongs, several slaves, and a large quantity of grain, and also be able to provide several score of pots of liquor to be drunk at the feast. The Haka Chiefs boast that no other tribe has such strict marriage laws as they, and that this shows their superiority to all.

The pedigree of the suitor of a Chief's daughter must be good, and his means ample or he could never pay the fabulous amount demanded by the relations, who do not, like the parents in the north, take all the dowry, but are bound by custom not only to share it with all the girl's relations, but also with the Chiefs of the various Haka families.

In the North Chin Hills the only questions asked by the parents of the young man regarding the girl is as to how quickly and thoroughly she can clear a hillside of weeds or how long it takes her to plant a patch of millet. In the south, however, marriage has much wider interests, and is usually arranged with the diplomatic view of strengthening the position of Chiefs and consolidating the power of clans.

It is a common custom to ensure the friendship of rival villages by inter-marriage, and nearly all the villages in the south endeavour for this reason to connect themselves by marriage with the families of the Haka Chiefs. Child-marriages with the same object are often arranged and effected with as much pomp, ceremony, and drunkenness, and at as high a cost, as if the little children were grown-up people.

The eldest brother in the Southern Hills is the guardian of his sisters, and if a man aspires to the hand of a woman, he must address himself to the brother and not to the parents. The suitor sends an ambassador to the elder brother with a quantity of liquor and then the brother, in consultation with all the relations, discusses the amount which he hopes to get by the sale of his sister to the suitor. The ambassador without embarrassment tries to beat down the price on behalf of his client and finally returns and announces the lowest price which will be taken for the girl.

The suitor probably haggles over the price for weeks, months, and even years, but when at last he has acquired the desired price or has finally made up his mind to pay, the brother of the girl is informed and the Chiefs of the village addressed on the subject, and they either give their formal approval or refuse consent to the match.

A day is fixed for the wedding, which takes place at the girl's parents' house and the price of the girl is divided amongst her relations; the eldest brother takes the largest share and the remainder is divided amongst the parents, sisters, brothers, cousins, uncles, aunts, and the Chiefs of the tribe: even the slaves of the house expect presents.

It very often happens that a man is not able to pay the full price demanded for his wife when he marries her, and he therefore promises to pay the

balance by degrees. This debt usually hangs over him all his life, and it is by no means rare to find men quarrelling over the still unpaid portion of the marriage price of their grandmothers and other female ancestors. More feuds have their origin in the payment for wives than in the killing of men.

The marriage ceremony consists of a feast, which lasts for days, and the bride is conducted to her husband's house at night time by all her relations and friends. If she marries a man in another village she is conducted at night to his house, the people of her village escorting her half-way to her new home, where she is met by the people of her husband's village, who accompany her the rest of the way.

Engagements often last for years in the south whilst a man is saving up and collecting the amount which he is required to pay for the girl whom he wishes to marry, and half the chieflings in Haka admit they are anxious to marry, but are debarred from doing so on account of the excessive prices demanded for a chief wife. Custom demands that a Haka Chief's daughter shall die a spinster rather than she be sold for a less sum than the daughter of other Chiefs.

Customs at births and deaths.

When a child is born its ears are bored with a porcupine quill or a hair-pin, and after it is about a month old its head is shaved and kept so for the first few years of its life. In the north it is customary to give the eldest boy part of the name of the paternal grandfather and the eldest daughter part of the name of the maternal grandmother. For instance, father No Shwun, son Kupswun, grandson Shwunlyin, great-grandson Swun How; mother Dyimman, daughter Man Wet, granddaughter Dyimnyet.

In the south there is no rule which guides the naming of a child, and the family chooses a name in much the same manner as we do.

Although there are three distinct methods in disposing of the dead and performing the funeral rites in the Chin Hills, yet all are the outcome of the same belief, that though the body is dead the spirit lives and must be given an honourable and fair start in the next existence. For this reason the body of a Chin is carried great distances to be buried at his village, as it is considered that a spirit cannot be at rest whilst his body lies in a foreign grave or amongst alien tribesmen, and the funeral rites are attended with great pomp.

In the Manipur records we read of the Soktes and Nwites in 1871 begging the bones of Nokatung, who had died of smallpox in the Manipur jail, for interment at his village, Mwelpi.

In 1893 cholera broke out amongst the Chin Chiefs who were on a visit to Rangoon and one Haka Chief of great importance died and was buried there. It was found that a promise to bring back the bones to Haka had a great effect in consoling the people for their loss, and there is no doubt that the whole tribe was much gratified when the bones of the Chief were brought back to his village a year later.

The bodies of slaves are treated as we treat the carcass of a mule. We bury it if it is near our posts, and otherwise we leave it where it lies.

A man who dies outside the village is buried outside the village and a man who dies of an epidemic is hastily interred without ceremonies, and also outside the village.

The Hakas and southerners, Tashons and their tributaries bury their dead inside the village; the Siyins, Soktes, and Thados bury outside the village always.

In the south when a man dies he is dressed in his silk tartan, his hair is combed and greased, and his best head-dress is bound on his head. He is then seated against and tied to one of the posts in the centre of the large room of the house. Here in a sitting position he remains in state with spear and gun in hand and surrounded by all his worldly goods. The relations and friends all visit him, bringing gifts of tobacco, food, and liquor, which are placed in front of the corpse. The guests are all entertained, and the men sit and drink whilst the women stroke the face and body of the corpse with loud lamentation and wailing.

After the corpse has sat in state for some three days it is taken down, and the limbs having been straightened it is carried outside the house to the vault, which is a grave 10 feet deep with a stone-lined vault branching off at right-angles to the grave. The corpse, if that of a Chief, is clothed in a silk mantle and placed in the vault together with the bones of his ancestors. Beside him are laid spears and das.

The vault is hardly large enough for two corpses at once, and so several vaults are made if necessary.

The gifts of food, tobacco, and liquor which are placed before a corpse are eventually consumed by the guests, it being supposed that the spirit of the deceased has helped itself to all it wanted.

During the sitting in state of a corpse the same drunken feast as at a marriage is indulged in, but no dancing is permitted.

For long after the death of a husband or a child the widow or mother may be seen sitting by the vault wailing aloud in a pitiful and distressing manner, and although it is a necessary formality there is no doubt that the Chins in private life are very fond parents and that the women are greatly attached to their husbands.

Amongst the Soktes when a man dies the body is washed, the hair dressed and the corpse clothed as if about to start on a raid; with gun and spear in hand, powder-flasks and haversack slung over the shoulder, he is placed in a sitting position outside and in front of the house for one day. Here relations and friends meet to take a last look at him. The body is then taken into the house, the limbs are straightened and the body is kept for two days whilst the people feast, drink, and fire off guns.

Outside the village is a cemetery, to which the body is borne, accompanied by a crowd of people who dance, discharge guns, and beat gongs. On arrival at the cemetery the body is placed in a box raised some 4 feet off the ground and supported by posts. Over this coffin is constructed a thatched roof to keep off rain, and under the coffin a fire is lighted to dry the corpse. This fire is kept burning for a week or more and then the corpse is left in the coffin and exposed to the air.

A year later the remains are taken from the coffin and are placed in a vault which is not excavated, but built on the surface of the soil with mud and stones. The vault is provided with a wooden door to enable relatives to periodically inspect the bones and mourn the deceased. The coffins and the vaults are not common property; each family possesses its own.

Chiefs are not buried in the common cemetery, but on the side of a road leading to the village; their vaults are easily recognizable by the quantity of large stones standing upright, and also by carved posts which surround the vault.

When a Siyin dies his body sits in state, dressed and fully armed, whilst his relations and friends dance and drink around him, firing off their guns and singing songs which set forth the number of raids the deceased has successfully taken part in, the number of slaves he captured, and the number of heads which he took.

The body is then taken to an outhouse and placed on a board, under which fires are lighted and kept burning until the corpse is mummified; often the stomach is pierced so that gasses and liquid matters may escape and assist the process. The body does not decompose, but dries up and the shrivelled corpse is then rolled up in rags and placed on a shelf in the house or in a coffin under the floor of the house. Here it remains until the final funeral feast can be arranged for, which sometimes does not take place until one or two years after death. Before our advent this time was devoted by the relatives in not only collecting animals to slaughter at the feast, but also in procuring human heads to adorn the cemetery.

At the last feast the body is taken off the shelf or from the coffin and fastened to a bamboo frame and is carried to the cemetery by a dancing crowd of men, who sway the corpse about to make it appear to be dancing also.

The corpse is then laid in an open coffin raised above the ground on a platform, and thus being exposed to the weather, in a few months only the bones remain. These are then collected and buried in an earthen pot in the ground.

The southern method of disposing of the dead is clean and satisfactory. The Siyin method is most loathsome in every detail: the process of drying the body is most sickening in its details, the keeping of a corpse on the shelf and placing food before it daily so that the spirit may eat is a savage custom, the dance to the grave-yard is a disgusting spectacle, and the grave-yard scattered with the bones of ancestors and relations shows how little respect the Siyin has for what we hold so sacred.

In the north the Chins erect a memorial to departed Chiefs: it consists of a thick plank of hard wood and usually the head of a man is carved on the top, from which a spike protrudes. The head represents the deceased, and on the plank is carved men, women, children, animals of all sorts, gongs, beads, guns, &c. These represent the Chief, his wife, and family, the enemies and animals which he has killed, and the slaves whom he has captured. The animals represent not only those which he has killed in the jungle, but also those which he has killed at feasts.

The departed hero is often shown as shooting an elephant, or a tiger, or carrying a gun in one hand and a human head in the other. It is not possible to trace the history of the man's life, as was evidently the intention of the custom, as the carver often includes according to his whim the relations of the deceased, and also his possessions at his death, and when there is a blank on the memorial which is too small for an elephant, he carves a tiger or a pig.

The carving is rough, but the monuments are curious, and great care should be taken that they are not defaced by our followers, especially as the Chins show a disinclination to continue the custom, for they say:—"We can no longer take heads and raid slaves: therefore the history of our lives is not worth handing down to posterity."

When we first came to these hills the spike on these memorials was generally adorned with the heads or skulls of Burmans, and around the memorial were poles and forked boughs also decorated with the limbs and heads of human beings. The wood chosen for carved memorials is so hard that it resists the weather for more than 50 years, and great-grand-children still point out the memorials erected when their ancestors died.

The Tashons set up wooden memorials also, which consist of a long pole some 15 feet high; the bottom 5 feet of the pole is carved to represent a man, his face and limbs being clearly shown; the remaining 10 feet of the pole is carved to represent the turban of the Chief, who thus is represented with 5 foot of body and 10 feet of turban. Around this monument are planted other and smaller monuments, representing the wives and children of the deceased Chief. The carving of the Tashon monuments is more primitive than that of the Siyins.

Oaths.

The Chin is very fond of taking oaths when making agreements of every sort. The most common form of taking an oath is for both parties to kill an animal and paint each other with its blood.

When two tribes take an oath of friendship they meet and produce a mithun. The wise men of each village pour liquors over it and mutter to their respective spirits to note the agreement which is now to be made over blood. The Chiefs of either side each takes a spear and standing on opposite sides of the animal drive their spears into its heart.

If guns, and not spears are used, the two Chiefs simultaneously fire into the animal's brain or heart. As the animal falls its throat is cut and the blood collected in bowls; the tail of the animal is then cut off and dipped in the blood and with it the Chiefs and elders of the two parties daub each others faces whilst the wise men mutter:—"May the party who breaks this agreement die even as this animal has died, and may he be buried outside the village and his spirit never rest; may his family also die and may every bad fortune attend his village."

When a tribe or clan submits we go through a modified form of the above. The Government representative and Chin Chief simultaneously shoot the animal; the tail is cut off and, with it in his hand, the Chief swears to be true to his oath, to recognize the Government, never to cut the telegraph wire or shoot on the troops and always to pay tribute regularly, and he calls on the spirit to kill the Government representative if he without cause attacks the Chins and also to inflict every misfortune on himself and his village if they break their oath.

In spite of the elaborate form which is gone through, the oath is valueless; the Chin will keep it as long as he is afraid to do otherwise and he will break it without hesitation if it suits his ends. No Government servant should count on a Chin keeping his word because he has sworn over



Survey of India Office, Calcutta, February 1911.

Photo-etching.

16. CARVED MEMORIAL POSTS, FALAM.

blood to do so, and it should be always borne in mind that a Chin does not lose caste in this world or happiness in the next, for lying and deceiving.

It has been recorded as a Chin custom that an oath with the Government is taken by writing out the terms and then burning the paper and mixing the ashes with rum and *su*, which both parties then drink. This ingenious arrangement may have been the practice of some particular officer, but it is not a Chin custom and is one which does not seem necessary to introduce; the mess which accompanies the killing of the animal is trying enough for a Political Officer without drinking paper ashes and rum as well.

As Chins have no records, whenever an agreement is made or an oath taken, a big stone is set up to remind the contracting parties of their agreement, and heaps of stones or one large stone sprinkled with blood are found near every village and along the side of every path.

In some parts of the hills it is customary to eat earth as a sign of swearing an oath, and in the south earth is tendered to a witness in a criminal case to eat in Court. The eating of earth is considered a very binding oath, and, if there is any possibility of getting the truth out of a Chin at all, there is more chance of getting it after he has taken this form of oath.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS—*continued.*

Superstitions and beliefs.

THE Chin is often described as a devil-worshipper. This is incorrect for he worships neither god nor devil. The northerners believe in a Supreme Being. The southern Chins admit that there is a Supreme God or "Kozin," to whom they sacrifice, they do not worship him and never look to him for any grace or mercy, except that of withholding the plagues and misfortunes which he is capable of invoking on any in this world who offend him.

In addition to the belief in spirits which control destiny and a future existence, the Chin believes firmly in omens and witchcraft. Belief in omens. Superstition guides all his actions.

The beliefs of the Siyin and those of the Hakas will be given separately, as they differ materially. What we record is that which Variety of beliefs. the majority of the tribesmen believe, although our search for knowledge on the subject has taught us that different villages will place the hereafter in different sites, will name the spirits by a diversity of names, and will argue that there are no gods and only devils or that there is a god as well as minor spirits.

The Hakas and southerners believe that there is a God (Kozin), who lives in the heavens. He is not capable of showering blessings on them, but as he is able to trouble them in every conceivable manner they propitiate him with sacrifices. The creed of the Hakas.

Besides Kozin there are the spirit of the village, the spirit of the family, or clan, which resides in trees in the particular tracts which the clan inhabits, the spirit of the household, which inhabits the house, the spirit of the

cultivations, which lives in the fields, and a number of spirits who reside in specific spots in the air, the streams, the jungle, and the hills.

None are capable of bestowing blessings, but all are prone to do damage and inflict loss and suffering; therefore they must be propitiated with sacrifices.

When the body dies it goes to a world called "Mithikwa" (dead man's village), which is divided into Pwethikwa, the pleasant abode, and Sathikwa, the miserable abode of the unavenged.

Good deeds and bad deeds do not affect the future of man; he must go to Pwethikwa if he dies a natural or accidental death, and he must go to Sathikwa if he dies by the hand of an enemy, and there remain disconsolate and restless until his death is avenged by blood, when he will at once enter Pwethikwa and be as happy as those who died a natural death on earth.

Kozin does not reside in Mithikwa. On arrival there the people live happily, but what they do is not known.

Many southerners, like the northerners, believe that the slain becomes the slave of the slayer in the next world and, although his death may be avenged, nothing can alter the fact that he must remain a slave. Should the slayer himself be slain, then the first slain, is the slave of the second slain, who in turn is the slave of the man who killed him.

The Siyins say that there is no Supreme God and no other world save this, which is full of evil spirits who inhabit the fields, infest the houses, and haunt the jungles. These spirits must be propitiated or bribed to refrain from doing the particular harm of which each is capable, for one can destroy crops, another can make women barren, and a third cause a lizard to enter the stomach and devour the bowels.

When the body dies man becomes a spirit and lives in the spirit world of the forests; if a man dies a natural or accidental death, his spirit is content, and he troubles no one; but, if he has been slain, his spirit will remain with his relations until his blood has been avenged in blood. If they do not attempt or if they are unsuccessful in avenging his death, the spirit will haunt and annoy them, especially at night; therefore the relatives of the murdered, to save themselves from the spirit, must shed blood.

The avenging of a murdered man by shedding blood in no way frees him from the yoke which he must bear, for at the death of his slayer he must meet him and serve him for ever.

Whether a man has been honest or dishonest in this world is of no consequence in the next existence; but, if he has killed many people in this world, he has many slaves to serve him in his future existence; if he has killed many wild animals, then he will start well-supplied with food, for all that he kills on earth are his in the future existence.

At the funeral of a man in the south, and when the mummified corpse is taken to the burial-place in the north, a feast is given to all relations and friends, and the heads of the animals slain are placed on posts around the grave and the animals, although they have been eaten in this world, are supposed to accompany the deceased in the next existence. For the same reason the Siyins and Soktes used to raid and collect human heads not only to adorn the grave, of a deceased Chief in this world, but so that he should be accompanied by many slaves in his future existence.

In the next existence hunting and drinking will certainly be practised, but whether fighting and raiding will be indulged in is unknown.

If one asks six different Siyins the names of the various spirits, they will give six lists which vary greatly, not only in names, but in the character of the spirits. Different villages propitiate different spirits, and each village or group of villages has its own special set of local spirits. As spirits do not trespass into each others territory, the spirits of aliens need only be treated with respect when a man enters strange territory infested by its own particular local spirits. No less than twenty spirits which inhabit the house alone have been named, of which six need only be mentioned.

Dwopi lives above the door of the house and has the power of inflicting madness; In Mai lives in the post in the front corner of the house and can cause thorns to pierce the feet and legs; Nokpi and Nalwun live in the verandah and can cause women to be barren; Naono lives in the wall and causes fever and ague; Awaia lives above and outside the gate and can cause nightmare and bad dreams.

There are twelve spirits who infest the fields and who can damage the crops with blight, or by a scourge of rats, and in a multitude of other ways; their names are Loshe, Lowhe, Bialpwek, Nanya, Tang, &c.

The names of seven spirits living in the jungle are given. These are capable of causing lock-jaw, sore-eyes, &c.

No less than eight different names are given to spirits which control the rain, and which are as capable of withholding it as they are of sending deluges.

Besides the above spirits there are many who haunt specific hills, valleys, streams, and patches of jungle. These again are added to by the restless spirits of the unavenged dead, who always wander.

Different spirits demand different sacrifices. It is useless to try to propitiate a mithun-demanding spirit with a pig or a pig-demanding spirit with a cock.

When a man falls sick he sets it down to one of the evil spirits and he sacrifices a young fowl or a small dog; if he gets well, it means that the spirit was satisfied and has withdrawn the sickness; if he does not recover, then he has made a mistake; perhaps it was a dog, not a fowl, that he should have sacrificed; but after sacrificing the dog, if he still remains ill, he tries a small pig, and then a large pig, then a small mithun, and so on, until if the illness is prolonged, he sacrifices his all. As a general rule the smallest fowl and pig are sacrificed first in the hopes of appeasing the spirit as cheaply as possible. It is no uncommon thing for a man to sacrifice mithun after mithun during an illness, and sometimes a Chief will sacrifice as many as ten during one illness.

In all villages there is a wise man or woman, who believes himself, and who is believed by the people, to understand what the spirits require, and the man who wishes to propitiate the spirits generally consults him as to what should be sacrificed. The wise man, after minutely questioning the unfortunate one concerning his recent conduct, will pronounce that the spirit of a stream has been insulted and must be pacified by a red cock, which must be sacrificed on the bank of the stream, or that the spirit in the wall is aggrieved and desires a pig. The animal is slain, usually by the wise man, who pours *su* over it and mutters to the spirit:—"You have wanted a pig and so one has

"been killed ; now be satisfied and remove the sickness which you have put upon the man."

The wise man always helps to eat the flesh which he has ordered for the spirit, and he usually chooses pig, probably arguing that the spirit, like himself, prefers pig to all other flesh.

The sacrifice is always eaten, be it dog, pig, or mithun, by the Northern Chins ; but dogs and goats are not eaten by the Hakas.

It is impossible to tell without asking whether an assemblage is engaged on a feast, burial, or sacrifice, as the same eating to surfeit and drinking to excess accompanies all.

In the south and amongst the Soktes it is believed that a man can take to the next world anything that is buried with him, and therefore guns, gongs, and even cooking-pots are often buried with the corpse ; amongst the Soktes this is merely a form as the weapons buried are invariably useless to the inhabitants of this world.

Cholera and smallpox are considered to be spirits and, when the former epidemic broke out amongst the Chins who went on a visit to Rangoon, they carried their *das* drawn whenever they moved about to scare off the spirit, and they spent the day hiding under bushes so that the spirit should not find them. The Southern Chins even begged to be allowed to sacrifice a slave boy to the foreign spirit, but were eventually persuaded to sacrifice pariah dogs instead. Several Hakas and Tashons died, but no Siyins.

The southerners put this down to witchcraft and we put it down to the good luck and the demeanour of the Siyins, who hunted and ate pariah dogs, whilst the Hakas and Tashons hidden under bushes were whining and preparing for death.

The people fully believe that spirits seize and maltreat them, and, when a man explains that he has been knocked down and badly mauled by a spirit, no one can convince him otherwise, though we put the occurrence down to fainting and other kinds of fits.

The Falam Chiefs have a sacred grove, within which is a large and curious rock which is used as an altar, on which are laid food, feathers, and odds and ends. This grove happening to be near the place where the suspension bridge is built, we cut some of the trees for bridging material ; the Chins were much alarmed and prophesied disaster and, when an accidental fire shortly afterwards destroyed a large portion of their capital, they at once exclaimed that the disaster was the result of our inconsiderate conduct to the spirit of the village, who had naturally avenged the insult not on us, but on them, as they are under his control.

In dealing with Chins it is right to remember that his spirit is of supreme importance in his eyes and that his grove, or his rock, is as much feared by him as the pagoda is revered by the Buddhist. Therefore, if it is possible, the felling of trees in a sacred grove should be avoided. But care must be taken that the cupidity of the Chiu is not pandered to, as it is no sin for him to lie, and he will claim any tree in the forest as dedicated to or inhabited by a spirit if he wants it for his own use.

A small Burman slave escaped capture some while back, owing to the belief of the Chin that spirits wander at night ; the boy was creeping along silently towards our post at night when he was detected by a Siyin sentry who at once cocked his gun. The small boy quietly sat down in the

long grass and a companion seized the sentry's gun and cried out :—" Do not shoot ; it is a spirit, and misfortune will fall on us ;" meanwhile the boy quietly glided off and reached our post in safety.

On the original site of the Chassad Kukis, or Taksatte as the Chins know them, there are some tall stone pillars still standing, which we asked the Chins to account for ; but they were silent, or said that they did not know ; sometime afterwards a friendly Chin who was on his best behaviour came up and quietly whispered :—" Those stones at Taksat were set up by the spirits : " but do not tell any one that I have told you so, as the spirits would be " avenged on me if they hear that I have done so."

Near Haka there is a grove which no one must injure. A slave girl one day fell ill and confessed that she had cut wood for sale to the troops in this grove and, although sacrifices were freely offered up, she died, and every one said that it served her right.

From time to time a man sacrifices to his own private household spirit, and when he does so, he closes his gate and sets up on it a green branch to let every one know that they must leave him to commune with the spirit and not disturb him. When this happens we should respect his motive, but at the same time be careful that the sacrifice and the green branch are not a hoax for evading cooly work or an unpleasant interview. A whole village at times will sacrifice to the village spirit, and then the traveller or visitor, on seeing the closed gate and green branch, must continue his tramp to another village, or return home.

When any important undertaking is contemplated or is taking place, whether journey, raid, feast, ceremony or sacrifice, omens are consulted, and almost everything that happens is looked on as a good or an evil omen. The most popular form of questioning what the future portends is to kill an animal and examine its liver. If the liver is congested or in any way different from what liver ought to be, it is an omen that the undertaking is unpropitious and it is often abandoned; but, if the undertaking is a raid or a marriage, or something which it would be annoying to postpone, a second animal is killed, and a second liver is examined, and it does not often happen that two unfavourable livers are produced consecutively.

Another omen much consulted in the north is a circle drawn on the ground ; one half is marked as propitious and the other as unpropitious ; an arrangement similar to the needle of the compass and its supporting pin is then set in the centre and twisted round, and the point where the needle rests decides whether a man should, for instance, go on a journey and sell his pig, or stop at home and retain his pig.

The call of a certain bird is considered a most favourable omen, and he who starts on a journey proceeds boldly if he hears it.

One of the worst omens that is possible to see is two snakes copulating, and a man who sees this is not supposed to return to his house or speak to any one until the next sun has risen.

A slight accident at the commencement of a journey often causes a man to return and put off his business until another day.

During the Siyin rebellion in 1892 a large raiding party started for the plains and we received information too late to save the village ; the raid, however, was not committed and it afterwards transpired that some of the lead-

ing men had hurt their toes against rocks whilst marching on the village. and that this was considered to be a warning of bad luck, and so the whole party quietly returned to their villages.

The Chins fully believe in witchcraft and the power of the evil eye. The

The evil eye. Hakas and independent southerners are particularly bad in this respect and consider that the Siyins, Yahows, and many of the Lushais are wizards, whose single glance is sufficient to bewitch them and who are capable of causing lizards to enter the body, balls of string to form in the stomach, and to inflict any and all those afflictions which are the evil gifts of the spirits.

In 1893 when a Lushai officer came to Haka to take over mules, he was accompanied by Lushai coolies, who strolled down to the village to chat; their approach was marked by a stampede of the women, who fled to the fields or hid in the houses and who afterwards explained that the mere sight of one of these Lushais was sufficient to cause sickness and distress.

Chins have begged permission from us to shoot individuals who have the misfortune to be pronounced wizards. When told that **Wizards.** our customs do not admit of the spilling of blood except when blood has been intentionally spilled, they reply that our customs are most unjust and protect the wizard who is allowed to practise his uncanny occupation in peace and who kills people right and left, but, because he spills no blood, we take no notice.

Surgeon-Major Newland tells a story of how a Chin came to him and complained that a rat had entered his stomach, at the glance of a Yahow, and he went to hospital quite prepared to die. He was, however, given an emetic and reported in the morning that he had vomited up the rat in the night and he then went home happy and cured.

All ailments which are not understood are considered to be either the work of a spirit or a wizard, and all internal complications are thought to be due to the presence of a foreign body which has been introduced in some mystic manner, and which most often takes the form of balls of hair or string, lizards, and rats.

When a person believes that he is followed by an enraged spirit, such as the spirit of cholera, it is a common practice to cut a dog in half without severing the entrails and to place the fore-quarters on one side of the road, and the hind-quarters on the other side and connected by the intestines stretched across the road; this is to appease the spirit and to dissuade him from following any further.

Fortune-telling is practised universally and notorious wise men and wise women are much sought after. The usual tricks of the **Fortune-telling.** gipsy are practised to the gain of the wise persons.

CHAPTER XIX.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS—concluded.

The position of Chiefs.

THE Kuki race is characterized by its respect for birth, and, as the Chin are but a family of that race, we find in them a natural **Respect for birth.** reverence for him who by right of birth is Chief of the tribe, or clan, or family. The Chief may be wanting in qualifications and

there may be many of other families his superior in ability; but, unless he is physically or mentally quite unfit for his position, there is no danger of his being supplanted, and the usual course is for elders and advisers to assist him in his rule.

The position of the Chin Chief in regard to the people is very similar to that of a feudal Baron. The Chief is lord of the soil and his freemen hold it as his tenants and pay him tithes, whilst they in common with the slaves are bound to carry arms against all his enemies. If a fugitive or an outcast takes refuge in a village, he pledges himself as vassal or slave of his protector.

We found that the Siyin and Sokte Chiefs in particular were in a similar position to the Barons of old who ruled their tenants and were subordinate, both they and their dependents, to the King. The Sokte Chiefs ruled their tenants, received their tithes, and fought their own private quarrels, and at the same time they paid tax to the Tashons and obeyed their summons to collect their forces to fight in the Tashon interests.

The Chiefs are lords of the soil within their boundaries, and, if any aliens wish to enter a Chief's territory and work his land, they must pay him the customary tithes. A Chief, besides the tithes which he receives as lord of the soil, receives tribute from tribes, villages, or families which he has conquered; therefore the Tashon Chiefs receive yearly tithes from their tenants and triennial tribute from the aliens whom they have conquered.

The system is complicated by persons migrating from one tract into another. Custom demands that immigrants should continue to recognize the head of their clan by paying him tribute, and at the same time should pay tithes to the lord of the foreign soil which they work.

When Saiyan and Tiddim were destroyed by us in 1889, many Soktes migrated across the river into Tashon territory. They thus came under two overlords, the Tashons, whose land they work, and the Sokte or Kanhow Chiefs who are the heads of their family.

When a Chief accepts tribute and tithes, he in return guarantees protection to his tenants and dependents.

Howchinkup, the Kanhow Chief, should receive tithes from the Kanhow clan and tribute from the Thados, who are aliens but tributaries, and, although custom varies according to the power of a Chief to enforce, or the ability of a dependent to resist, the system north of the Hakas ordains that tribute should be paid triennially and tithes yearly.

Tribute usually takes the form of mithun and other cattle. Tithes not only include a certain proportion of the grain crop, but also a portion of the increase of live-stock, such as one out of a litter of pigs, two puppies yearly, and very occasionally mithun.

In some parts the tithes include not only a portion of the crop and a share of the increase of live-stock, but also a hind leg of every animal killed at a feast and a hind and front leg of every wild animal shot or trapped.

In the Sokte tract it is common for the Chief to make over a village to his brothers, or uncles, in which case the village pays tithes to the brother and not to the Chief, but the brother pays a nominal tax to the Chief in recognition of his overlordship. This custom is very much abused at the present time and the near relations of the Chief consider themselves entitled to prey on any village which is too weak to resist their illegal demands.

In the Siyin tribe each village recognizes but one Chief, who receives his tithes and administers his clan irrespective of all outside interference.

At Haka and in the south an intricate state of affairs exists, for the Chiefs of several clans, presumably for the sake of strengthening their position and controlling powerful dependents, in times gone by founded the village of Haka and peopled it with their several families and immediate followings.

The result is that there is no unity at all in the village, which is divided into different quarters, each controlled by one or more Chiefs, all distantly connected with each other, with private interests, are always at variance. The arrangement has resulted in the village being too powerful to be attacked, and the position of the several Chiefs is assured in the land.

Our difficulty in the arrangement is that half a dozen Chiefs each have a share in the outlying villages, and each collects his own tribute from his own people, and consequently when disputes arise in outlying villages each Chief at Haka defends his own clique.

In the north and at Falam tribute and tithes are paid to the Chiefs at their headquarters; at Haka and in the south, however, a Chief must collect his tribute if he wants it.

The Hakas demand a very much heavier tribute than the Northern Chiefs, and, although there is a recognized fixed demand, they try to squeeze out or forcibly seize as much as they possibly can whilst the dependents shuffle out of paying whenever possible.

When a community is examined regarding the amount of tithes and tribute which it pays, it will transpire that seldom do two households pay precisely the same amounts to the same Chiefs, and it is no uncommon thing for a man to say:—"I pay tribute to the Chief of the clan and I pay tithes to the lord of the soil, who is not the Chief of my clan; in common with my particular village I pay tribute to a Chief who conquered us 15 years ago; I pay compensation yearly to the sons of a man whom my father killed many years ago, and also a fee to the grandson of the man whose slave my grandfather was."

The position of the Haka and other Southern Chiefs in common with that of the Northern Chiefs is that of hereditary and lawful rulers, but as already shown in a previous chapter, the Tashon custom is different.

The Falam Chiefs pretend that all on the council are hereditary Chiefs; such, however, is not the case, though it is always possible for a man of common extract to become connected with the hereditary Chiefs by marriage; and this is how the Tashons promote a commoner to the rank of Chief.

The Chiefs are elected to the council by the people, but as a general rule they belong to the old families, and only when a common man is particularly conspicuous as a soldier, a diplomatist, or as a rich merchant, is he promoted to the council.

The Tashons say that a man must have slain another before he can attain to the council. If this is a fact, there must have been many cold-blooded murders committed as the Tashons are not warriors.

Occasionally an influential man of strong character rebels against his lawful Chief and founds with his immediate relatives his own village: if he is strong enough, he may refuse to recognize any one's overlordship, but, if he is weak, he will secure his protection by paying tribute and acknowledging allegiance to some powerful neighbouring Chief.

The best instance of such a thing happening occurred at Nikwe's village, which, although in the Lushai country, was situated near our western border and was peopled by as many Chins as Lushais.

Nikwe was a Yahow Chin who left his Chief and his village and founded his own village, which soon became notorious as a refuge for the fugitive and the headquarters of any who wished to prosecute feuds either in the Chin Hills or in Lushai. Nikwe acknowledged the overlordship of none, and his power and position in 1802 exceeded that of most of the hereditary Chiefs in the Hills.

A man of strong and determined character can set himself up as a Chief and hold his own for a time, but at his death and in old age, unless his descendants are of equally fine character, the village will dwindle away, the people settling down under other Chiefs.

In the Northern Hills a Chief, when he becomes too old to lead the clan on raids, naturally leaves these arduous duties to his sons, but he does not abdicate in his son's favour, and he continues to the end as the head of the clan. It is a custom for no man in the north to eat the liver of any animal whilst his father is alive as it is deemed disrespectful to do so. Amongst the Hakas the very marked respect for age, which is so noticeable in the north, is entirely wanting; young Chiefs oust their fathers as soon as they have reached manhood and small boys mock and spit at the old without shame or fear of reproof. Lieutenant Macnabb thus describes this state of affairs amongst the Hakas—

"When a man grows old and feeble and is unable to exact his dues by force, unable to go about and demand his tribute in person, and when at the feast his voice is no longer the loudest and his hand no longer strongest, then his son gradually begins to take his place. Instead of the son deferring to the father, the father defers to the son, and finally he is turned out of his house and is made to end his days in a small hut. Before death claims him he is forgotten and set aside; the wisdom and experience of 80 years shrinks before the arrogance and self-assertion of 25, and a man who in his prime may have been a power in the land, the hero of a hundred raids, and the owner of much property, is in his old age a nonentity."

Slavery.

Slaves in the Chin Hills are of two classes: those who have been captured by force and those who have willingly submitted to the yoke or who were born in slavery or who for crimes committed were condemned to slavery.

A slave captured in war was usually held to ransom, and slaves who have accepted the position or who are held in satisfaction of debts can purchase their release.

It is true that a man had the same right to kill or sell his slave as his dog, and that a Chief used his female slaves as concubines if he wished to do so; but, although the sacrifice of a slave was a rare occurrence in the south, and slaves were occasionally shot by an angry master, the bad treatment of the class was rare and on the whole their lives were far from what the term slavery would lead us to expect.

Amongst the Siyins it was a point of honour not to ravish Burmese captives, and the women who lived with Chins as their wives usually consented to do so. The Siyins themselves look on a slave-owner who is cruel to his slaves in the same way as we look on a bully.

The Siyins and the Soktes were the professional slave-dealers of the Chin Hills and raids were regularly organized on account of the profitable trade,

and also in order to get slaves to cultivate the fields and perform all menial services.

The prices paid by the Burmans for the release of parents, wives, and children averaged from Rs. 100 to Rs. 1,000, and until the money was paid the captive, be he pôngyi or official's wife, worked in the fields or lay in heavy stocks.

The Northern Chins armed themselves with guns with the proceeds of their Burman slave traffic, and the extent to which the traffic was worked is explained by the fact that in the last five years we have recovered some 700 slaves from the Northern Chins alone.

The freemen far outnumber the slaves, except in villages like Haka, where the population consists almost entirely of Chiefs and slaves.

When a slave is not acquired by war he has always himself or his ancestors to blame for his position.

A man who had accumulated debts which he could not pay applied to some well-to-do man to pay them off for him and consented to become his slave until he repaid the debt, which he often failed to do.

If a man was caught stealing he gave his daughter or son to slavery until he paid some 20 times the amount of whatever he stole.

A man flying from his enemy, or from debt, or from punishment, would ask to be accepted as a slave in return for protection and food.

A woman who had no means of subsistence would ask her neighbour to accept her labour in return for food and shelter.

The children of a slave woman were born in slavery, and every child she bore, be the father Chief or slave, was the slave of the mother's master, and therefore as generation after generation passed the slave population increased and multiplied.

Slaves were sold like cattle and are distributed at a man's death amongst his heirs in common with beads and guns.

A slave has naturally to work for his living, but his day's work is neither long nor arduous; all that he earns belongs to his master; his food is the same as his master's, except in times of scarcity, when he fares badly and has to subsist on what roots he can find in the jungle and on the roots of the plantain tree. At feasts he drinks with the Chiefs and, when drunk, will knock them down as readily as any freeman. He sleeps in the house and, although he does not go through the form of marriage, he cohabits with the slave woman of his fancy and is fond of his children, whom he brings up in the same humble but not necessarily unhappy position as his own.

Slaves do not always have names, but are talked of as so-and-so's son or daughter.

When one has seen several women refuse to leave their Siyin lords for their homes in Burma and has noticed how easy a matter it is for a Chin slave in the south to desert his master and reside as a free man in tamed Chin villages in Burma or escape to some village such as Nikwe's and proclaim independence, it is impossible not to believe that slavery is not cruel as a rule. There is not a doubt but that slavery will die out by degrees.

Slaves acquired by war we invariably release by force of arms if necessary, and are as strict in protecting the life of a slave as that of a freeman; the slave is rapidly recognizing this fact and in a few years to come slavery, as we use the word, will be a thing of the past.

CHAPTER XX.

CIVIL AND CRIMINAL LAWS.

IN civil matters, such as inheritance and marriage, there are certain fixed and recognized customs, which as a general rule are admitted by all, but obeyed only by those whose weakness or interest impels them to do so. The origin of eight out of every ten blood-feuds and raids shows us that the non-observance of civil customs rather than criminal offences is the more fruitful cause of bloodshed.

Customs in criminal matters.

Law in criminal matters according to our definition of the word does not exist and the word "custom" must be borrowed to express the arrangements for dealing with crime. But it must be clearly understood that might quashes right and avarice smothers justice and custom amongst the Chins, whose quaint reasoning has decided that drunkenness is a valid excuse for murder and adultery, but that the action of a sober man committed by inadvertence and pure accident must be punished in the same manner as a crime committed with deliberate intent.

Before our coming there were no judges among the Chins; each man protected his private interests, each village defended its rights, and each tribe was the guardian of its honour and property.

Private wrong, unless an affair of public interest, had to be settled by the aggrieved person with the wrong-doer; therefore, if a man lost his gun and could not recover it, he stole some one else's, who in return stole another man's weapon.

The affair would now be of common and public danger, and the headmen would discuss and argue for days on the subject and finally give an award which he who profited thereby accepted, whilst the loser betook himself to another tribe or village and avenged himself by shooting and stealing any or anything belonging to his enemy until he was compensated.

If an individual was strong enough to enforce his rights, he would get them and would take much more also. If a man was not strong enough to enforce his rights, he had to do without them, and were it not for the gun and spear, there would have been not even the mockery of justice. But as the strong man knew that the weak man had a gun and would use it if pushed to extremity, therefore in private matters and through fear of being ambushed, the strong usually treated the weak with some show of consideration, but certainly not with justice.

Disputes regarding the ownership of a hill or certain cultivations were frequent. If the ownership could not be settled by mutual agreement, the stronger side seized the fields and drove off, shot, or captured the cultivators of the weaker side, which retaliated by burning cultivation huts and destroying the crops. This state of affairs often lasted for years and was only settled by the stronger side compelling the weaker to renounce its claim or at any rate to leave them in peaceable possession.

It rarely occurred that a man murdered another of the same tribe when sober; if he did so the relatives of the murdered man would, if they could

Murder. catch him, kill him without hesitation and the incident was closed. The murderer usually fled to an alien tribe

which would not surrender him, and the murdered man's relatives proceeded to shoot any person belonging to the village which afforded an asylum

to the murderer. This not only enraged the murderer's protectors, but they had to exact blood for blood, and so they ambushed and raided in return and often much blood was spilled, and the feud handed down from generation to generation. However, avarice was often able to persuade the relations of a murdered man that the murder was possibly committed when the offender was drunk, and they accepted compensation and settled the feud.

A Chief was justified in killing his slave, but he was considered foolish for so doing, as he lost the services of the slave.

A Chief or freeman who killed another man's slave had to compensate the owner, and the only difficulty was the fixing of the value of the slave.

If a slave killed a slave, he might or might not be killed for the offence. He could not compensate as he owns no property, and, if he killed the slave of another man, his master would either pay the compensation or allow him to be shot for his crime.

If a slave killed a freeman or a Chief, his case was hopeless; he might evade capture for years, but he would finally be marked down and ambushed, or caught and killed over the grave of the murdered man.

If a man killed an alien in cold blood, blood for blood was required and a blood feud commenced. The feud was looked on as regular warfare and was only ended by one side paying annual tribute, or giving a lump sum as compensation to the victorious side.

If a man of position was killed in a drunken quarrel, the murderer would probably be killed if taken at once; if not, the matter was usually settled by slaying a slave and compensating the relations, but more often by merely compensating the widow or giving her a yearly allowance of grain or by pacifying the male relatives with a few pigs and enough liquor to keep them drunk for a week.

If an alien killed a Siyin or Sokte, no offer of compensation was effectual. They would have blood and blood only as satisfaction, and afterwards they would discuss the question of compensation. With other tribes, although the custom was to demand blood for blood, substantial compensation would generally settle the matter, unless the murdered man happened to be a Chief or his murderer a slave. If one Chief killed another, war followed, unless heavy compensation prevented it, and then the deed was wiped out in the blood of a slave.

It was a common practice to wash the hands and even the face in the blood of a murderer or in the blood of a slave who had taken the place of the murderer, and raiders avenging the deaths of their ancestors would do the same.

Lieutenant Macnabb, in his pamphlet on the Southern Chins, tells the following story, which is still current in the south, but the Laitet people have never shown us the well, and the story savours of the proverbial love of mythology which is ingrained in the Chin :—

"Near the village of Laitet, which is some 40 miles south of Haka, there is a spring credited with miraculous properties. It is supposed to be the abode of a powerful spirit called 'Shiarpanlai.' This spring has been dug out as a well, some 3 feet wide and some 6 feet deep, and all the villagers of Laitet draw their water from it. When a murder has been committed in any of the villages round, the water in this well becomes the colour of blood. When this happens the Laitet villagers make a sacrifice at the well to propitiate the 'Shiarpanlai' spirit. Sentries are placed near the well and any stranger who is seen trying to get to the well is shot. Now, any one who killed a person by

accident in the surrounding villages is bound by custom to flee to Laitet and to wash his hands in the 'Shiarpanlai' well. If he does this without interruption, he is considered innocent; if, however, he is prevented from doing so, owing to the water of the well having turned to blood, he is considered to have slain his man of malice aforethought and therefore to be a murderer. Needless to say the 'Shiarpanlai' spirit is held in great reverence. Once in every three years a large female mithun is sacrificed to it, and smaller sacrifices and propitiations are constantly made. Should the 'Shiarpanlai' spirit be neglected, it is believed by the villagers of Laitet that their women would cease to bear children, and the cattle, pigs, goats, fowls, &c., cease to bring forth young, and that their crops would be visited with a withering blight. If a murderer were allowed to wash his hands in the well, the spirit would be offended and all these calamities would be brought down on them."

There is no such thing as murder by strangulation or by poison; a murderer always slays with the gun, spear, arrow or da.

Infanticide is almost unknown in the Southern Hills as boys are useful, and girls are a source of gain, being sold as wives. In the north, however, when slaves were cheap and girls do not demand the same high price as in the south, it was a very common practice to kill any undesirable offspring, and fathers who had already three or four daughters have been known to make away with any girl babes whom he considered in excess of his needs. Deformed children, idiots, and bastards were usually condemned to die and were generally taken out into the jungle or placed in a cave and left to await whatever fate might overtake them from starvation and exposure, or wild animals and insects.

Rape is very rare, as every Siyin has his wife or mistress, and in the south the slave girls are treated as concubines by the well-to-do married men and bachelors, and, although slave men and women do not marry, there is no restriction placed on cohabitation. The offence of rape was settled by the gun and spear, or by compensation, according to the position of the offender and the position of the outraged woman's relations; a man with no property who committed rape would fly or be shot; a rich man would offer compensation and it would be accepted.

Adultery is not a criminal offence. A husband can always divorce his wife for her indiscretions, but, if he does so, he loses the price which he paid for her when he purchased her from her brother in the south or from her parents in the north. He therefore usually overlooks the affair as regards the woman, and he will, if he can, make the seducer pay him compensation; but he seldom succeeds, as popular opinion is averse to the shedding of blood over the virtue of women.

At feasts, when men and women are expected to get drunk and to forget themselves, adultery is considered no offence at all, and is treated as a mistake which anyone is liable to make. Adultery is not nearly as common as the very lenient customs would lead one to expect.

Except in the prosecution of warfare, robbery is practically unknown.

There are two kinds of thefts, those committed by persons living in the same village or belonging to the same tribe, and thefts committed from persons belonging to an alien tribe. Theft committed by aliens, when the thief is caught, was usually punished with death or the offender was kept in stocks until all his goods and chattels were given as compensation, or until one or more of his relations were handed over as slaves.

Thefts from fields committed by an alien resulted in his being fired on or speared, if detected. Villages often made an agreement that thieves from either village were to be shot or held as slaves until ransomed for 50 many mithun or pigs.

Some little time back a Chin was reported to have died of cholera on the road, and enquiries were instituted with the result that the Chins suggested that there was no need of alarm as the man had died suddenly of the complaint whilst plucking another man's Indian-corn.

Molbem, a Sokte village, and Kopwel, a Tashon village, finding that thefts from each other were too rife for convenience, made an agreement that thieves caught red-handed should be shot, and shortly afterwards Kopwel caught a Molbem thief whom they tied to a stake and shot and then placed his head on a pole as a warning to others. The Molbem people were furious at the death of their man and demanded blood satisfaction on the excuse that they had only agreed to shoot thieves and not to put their heads on posts, and a raiding party started off and ambushed a Kopwel man and stuck up his head near Molbem in retaliation.

Amongst a tribe or in a village, theft from the field, from the house, and ordinary theft are punished according to the capability of the thieves to pay; the ordinary penalties are five times the amount of the property stolen, or all the possessions of the thief, and, if he be a poor man, then he and his family became the slaves of the person from whom he has stolen. If there was much difficulty in settling the matter the thief's head was stuck on a post and thus an end was put to the affair.

Cheating is considered honourable and admissible, and misappropriation and breach of trust result either in compensation being given or in bloodshed.

Customs in Civil matters.

The customs which control inheritance of property vary.

In the south the estate of a deceased is divided as follows :—

<p>Rules of inheritance in the south.</p>	<p>The eldest son inherits the house and fields and, if his father was a Chief, all the tithes which his father received.</p>
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The cattle are divided amongst all the sons, the eldest taking the major portion as he is responsible for the maintenance of the womenfolk of the family.

Women receive their share of the necklaces in common with all the brothers, but as the heir-looms go to the eldest brother, but few necklaces are divided amongst the younger brothers and sisters.

The slaves are divided amongst all the family, and, although the eldest brother, who inherits the fields, takes the larger number of slaves to till them, the other brothers and even the sisters are allowed to share in their distribution.

There is always a strong feeling against women inheriting anything, and, unless a woman has powerful relations, she will usually be entirely ignored at the division of the estate, and even a widow will have hard work to secure any particular property which has been specially bequeathed to her by her husband on his deathbed. At the death of the husband the widow and her daughters live with the eldest son, or, if they continue to live in the house of the deceased, the eldest son is bound to feed them and attend to all their wants, and they are a part of his establishment and assist him in

the same manner as wives assist their husbands, by attending to all the household duties and weaving wearing apparel.

The younger brothers, until they marry a chief wife, live with the elder brother and assist him in collecting his tithes or in managing his herds and directing the cultivation of the fields. In return for their work their elder brother supports them.

When a younger brother marries his chief wife, or sets up house for himself, he has to build his own house and either rent fields or clear fresh land; if a poor freeman, he will have to do this work himself; if he is of a Chief's family he will have inherited slaves from his father's estate.

It is no burthen to the eldest son to feed his mother as he has inherited practically all his father's property, and as for his sisters they are a very precious possession, whom he sells to be wives at very great profit to himself, and who require no dowry whatever.

The children of concubines and lesser wives have no claim to any estate, and in the event of there being no issue by the chief wife, the brother of the deceased seizes all property, but will feed and keep the wives and children of his brother.

If a man dies, his brother has the option of taking his widow to wife; if, however, he is married and she is a well-connected woman, she will not accept the position of an inferior wife in his household, and she either marries some one else or lives singly and is supported by the brother.

The custom of divorce declares that after a man has consummated his marriage he forfeits all claims to the price that he paid for his wife and only if she repeatedly leaves his house has he any claim to the return of the price which he paid for her. If he divorces her, he loses the price and she takes any children who are the result of the marriage as the woman is the lawful guardian of the child. Usually, however, the husband's claim to the children is satisfied by compensation.

The children of a divorced wife may inherit the property of their father, and invariably do so if the man has not married another chief wife.

The Sokte and Siyin customs ordain that the youngest son shall inherit all the property of his father, lands, household property, cattle, slaves, &c.; and the eldest son in common with any other sons and all daughters receive absolutely nothing. It is, however, laid down that the youngest son

shall provide his brothers with lands to cultivate, and that he shall support his mother and his unmarried sisters.

As a rule the elder brothers marry, build their own houses, and look after their own interests as soon as they grow up, and therefore at their father's death they are all provided for; the property of the father falls to the youngest son, whose duty it is to remain with his father until his death, to assist him in managing the house and property.

In the case of the elder sons of Chiefs it is expected that as they grow up they will each build their own villages, from which they receive tithes to support their dignity, but these sons pay tax to their father during his lifetime, and at his death they pay to their youngest brother, who is then the head of the family, clan, or tribe.

If a man marry a wife and she dies, leaving issue, and he then marries again and has issue by his second wife, at his death the property is divided between the youngest son of each wife, that of the first wife taking all the

property which the father was supposed to have possessed until he married the second time, and that of the second wife taking all the property which the father acquired during the time of the marriage with the second wife. In case there is but one son, he takes all.

An elder brother has the right to claim the widow of his brother to wife if he is not already married and, if he is already married, the widow has the option of becoming his wife if he is in a position to support her and she is willing to accept the position.

If a widow does not marry her brother-in-law, she returns to her father's house, and, if she has no father, she lives with any relation who is willing to receive her, for the girl in the Northern Chin Hills is not the property of her brother as is the case in the south.

Amongst the northerners divorce only results when a man is tired of his wife, or she of him; no ceremony is gone through; if the man wants to get rid of his wife he tells her to go and she returns to her father or brother, who welcome her as an able-bodied person who will assist them in cultivating the fields. If the man sends his wife away, he cannot recover the price he paid when he bought her, but, if she leaves him against his will and for no good reason, he can do so. If, however, the man has ill-treated his wife, she may leave him and he cannot claim the price he paid for her.

The issue of the marriage belongs to the father in case of separation or divorce and the mother has no claim to her children, a custom totally the reverse to that in the Southern Hills.

CHAPTER XXI.

CROPS, MANUFACTURES, AND TRADE.

Cultivation.

THE Chin relies on agriculture for his sustenance, and, although hunter, trapper, and raider, his game and his booty put much less into the pot than what he acquires by the sweat of his brow on the steep hillside. The crops may be divided into four classes, grain, pulses, roots, and vegetables.

Grain comprises millets of three varieties including "Job's tears" and jowari, rice, and maize; pulses include gram, varieties of peas, small beans, a bean similar to a scarlet runner, dhal, and the *aunglaunk* bean; sweet-potatoes, yams, the bulb of a plant like a lily, turmeric, and ginger comprise the roots; and vegetables and herbs include pumpkins, cucumbers, marrows, gurkanis, onions, chillies, brinjals, and wild varieties of spinach.

All cultivation is done on the hillside and by manual labour; cattle are never used in preparing the soil or in bringing the crop to the village.

The staple crop varies according to the rainfall, and a variety of different crops are put in the ground to avoid starvation in case the staple crop should fail; the ordinary dangers to crops are plagues of rats, deluges of rain, blight, and the ravages of bears, monkeys, and birds.

The land is never manured, but is enriched by burning the weeds and stalks of gathered crops on old ground, and by burning the fallen timber on new ground which has been cleared for the first time.

Method of cultivating.



Photo-etching.

Bureau of India Office, Calcutta, November 1965

6. GRAIN POUNDING.

Although the elaborate terrace system of the Nagas is not approached, most fields are partially terraced by trunks of trees and by stone supports, the latter constructed with great labour. Without these the surface soil and the crops would be washed into the nullahs during the rains.

In addition to the da the only tools of husbandry are the short axe and the short hoe, neither of which is ever more than 4 inches broad at the edge. Both implements are light and very suitable to the class of work which is performed.

The cultivations are divided into two classes: the regular fields, which are situated near the village, and the extra fields, which are often miles from the village and which are worked to ensure a sufficiency of food in case the regular fields yield a poor crop.

Until quite recently it was necessary to proceed armed and in force to the distant fields, which were cultivated, sown, and the crop gathered under the protection of guards and sentries. As the science of Chin warfare is surprise, and the most successful of all tactics is to ambush the cultivator either going to, or from, or whilst working in, the field, nine out of every ten persons whose heads were formerly carried off lost their lives in or near their fields.

The fields are not worked in common; each man has his own fields and each cultivates his own patch; the fields are not fenced and no one hesitates to shoot strange cattle which stray into his fields. It is considered by the Chins lawful to shoot a thief caught in the act of stealing crops either at night or in daytime.

Every man has his hut in his cultivation; this is usually no mean shed, but a substantially built, well thatched house, in which he resides during the time of planting and gathering the crop and to which he flies when an epidemic appears in the village. Whilst the crop is in the ground a couple of boys, usually slaves, live in this house to defend the crop from the wild animals and birds; bears, deer, and monkeys are killed in numbers in the fields. The boys keep off sparrows and paraquets by hammering a hollow trough and by pulling strings connected with the four corners of the field to which are attached bamboo rattles, and which all lead to the platform of the house.

When gathered the crops are always brought home to the villages in the south, and in the north they are stored in the houses or in granaries hidden in the jungle. The crop is not stored in granaries perched on the top of hills, and in plain view, as is the case in Lushai.

In the north the wives and daughters of all work alongside the slaves in the fields, but in the south no women of good family work in the fields and the social position of a woman is thus always betrayed by her hand.

The rice-fields on the eastern slopes of the Letha range and all new clearings are prepared by chopping down all the trees and undergrowth on the side of a hill during the cold weather. These lie as they fall and are not burned at once as the high winds would scatter the ashes, but when the leaves and boughs are thoroughly dry and the time for rain approaches are lighted and the timber is burnt as thoroughly as is possible. Great damage can be done to an enemy by setting his clearings on fire before the right time, and it

is said that a crop can be entirely spoiled by the premature firing of the fallen timber.

Rice can be raised on a new clearing two or three seasons running before it is necessary to let it lie fallow, and before each crop is sown the stubble and the larger timber which could not be consumed the first year are burned at the proper season. Rice is sown in May and is gathered in October. The crop is entirely dependent on the rainfall and is more often damaged by too much than by too little rain.

The Thados and the Siyins before they were removed from Pimpi reaped the paddy crop with sickles of Burman fashion and manufacture.

The rice grown in the Southern Hills is not raised on heavy timber clearings as in the north, or in dense bamboo jungle land as in the Lushai country, but is grown on the ordinary soil on the ordinary hill; consequently the crop is always meagre and very uncertain, and the people grow it rather as a luxury than as a regular article of food.

There is no doubt that rice can be successfully raised and irrigated on the banks of the Boinu river, and it is highly probable that when the country settles down this will be done, as rice commands an enormous price and a ready sale.

To follow the procedure of the Chin as an agriculturist, we will commence at the beginning of the year. The first three months are spent in clearing and weeding the soil, building and repairing the terraces, and generally getting the fields into order for sowing.¹

If cultivation is stopped at this time, the crops must fail. The true secret of subduing Chins is to place small outposts in their centres of cultivation from January to May. If the troops do their work thoroughly, no clearing and no sowing can be done and the Chin must surrender or starve. Experience has taught us that he prefers to hand up his gun than continue to sulk when the sky begins to cloud over and sowing time is at hand.

When the first rain falls every one hurries off to the fields and sows and plants with the greatest energy. March, April, and May are the months in which the first crops of the year are sown and planted.

Rice and millet are each sown separately and broadcast; sometimes cucumbers, pumpkins, and melons are grown in the same field as the millet.

Indian-corn or maize is planted, one or two grains being placed in a hole dug with the hoe and then covered up, the seed is planted in straight lines. In the same field as the maize are planted beans of all sorts, which climb up the corn stalks, pumpkins, and cucumbers, and in some cases millet.

The *aunglauk* bean shoots out a strong and large creeper. It is planted in lines, and as it ripens long after the other crops any other pulse or seed may be grown with it.

Sweet-potatoes are planted any time during the rains, as also are yams.

As soon as the seed is in the ground the fields must be guarded against animals and birds, and as soon as the seed sprouts the weeds have to be

¹ Fires in the cultivations are universal from 15th January until the rains and smoke on the hillsides is so dense as to curtail the view. Survey parties should therefore, if possible, commence work at the end of November and thus have six weeks at least before the fires start for their observation.

kept down and prevented from choking the crop. The crops are gathered as they ripen during July and the three following months.

A second crop of millets, dhal and gram, and sometimes even a third crop of beans, is gathered off the same field during the year.

Indian-corn is plucked in much the same manner as it is "husked" in America, the heads of the jowari millet are also plucked and the millet known as "Job's tears" is plucked grain by grain.

Pumpkins and cucumbers are gathered in August and September and sweet-potatoes and yams are scratched up with pointed sticks and hoes at any time, but generally during January and the following months.

Cotton is grown in precisely the same manner as in Burma, but the plant attains a smaller size and produces a smaller yield.

It is popularly supposed that the Chin is a wretched, half-starved, over-worked and generally unhappy individual. The reverse is the case, and if we analyze his labour in agriculture, which is the hardest work he is called on to do, we find that in reality he has an easier time than the farmers in the west of America and in the colonies.

In the colonies the farmer is up before daylight to feed his horses and cattle; the Chin seldom rises before the sun and never starts work before he has had a meal.

At dark the Chin returns to a warm and watertight house; he has no cows to milk and no cattle and horses to tend after dark.

The clearing of timber is a lengthy but not a heavy task, as his axe is light and he only works so many hours in the day, and working with such a light tool is by no means the arduous labour which is entailed by felling timber with the 4 and 6 lb. axe-head used by the Canadian and American.

The labour of scratching the soil, as the soil is not disturbed for a greater depth than one or two inches at most, is very light. It cannot be considered more arduous than the ploughman's long daily tramp, and is nothing as compared with the labour which breaking prairie entails on the farmer in the west.

The Chin has to carry his loads from the fields on his back. This would be an annoying task to a white man, but it is really no more exertion to a Chin to carry his 60 lbs. load up a khud than it is for a white man to carry his gun and cartridge bag up the same place, and if he has to carry, he is spared the worry and work which the white man has in tending his horses and cattle.

The one hardship which attends agriculture in the hills is that the Chin has to live in very heavy rain for some months. His constitution is, however, hardened to this, and it does not affect his health in any way.

The Chin, instead of being pitied, is to be congratulated that he can make his living so easily, and that he has not to stack straw and hay, build out-houses for cattle and machinery, and protect his cattle from weather; he has no great heat and no terrible winter to contend with, and he has always three meals a day, a roof over his head at night, and all the clothing he needs.

Manufactures.

The manufactures in the Hills for export are confined to cane mats, bamboo mats, and baskets; these are made chiefly by the inhabitants on the slopes of the ranges bordering on Burma.

For local use spears, darts, axe-heads, hoes, and knives are manufactured; the iron is procured from Burma, and blacksmiths are found throughout the

hills, but Wunhla in the Southern Chin Hills is the only village which has made its name famous for ironwork.

The blacksmith's forge consists of two bamboo bellows made out of two large bamboos standing upright with the pistons made of bamboo and cock's feathers and worked by hand; charcoal is used for the furnace, and the anvil consists of a block of stone or a log of wood covered with a sheet of iron.

The weapons are all neatly made, but the science of tempering metal is unknown. Native blacksmiths can make any portion of a flint-lock gun except the barrel, and although the springs which they make are weak and often snap, they nevertheless are often found in the gun-locks.

The melting of brass and telegraph wire is universally practised, and armlets and bangles are made by pouring the molten metal into moulds made of a mixture of paddy-husks and clay.

The telegraph-insulator, which is made of steel, is much prized by the Chin, who quickly fashions it into an excellent knife blade, which takes a capital edge, but which is very brittle.

In the Southern Hills is made a brass and bead head-dress for the wife of a Chief to wear on important occasions. Its construction displays the neatness and accuracy with which Chins bore metal with a rough drill.

The manufacture of brass hair-pins, earrings, bangles, armlets, and metal beads is carried on chiefly in the villages far south of Haka and in the Klang-klang, Whenoh, and Yahow villages which border on the Lushai country.

Earthen pots are made everywhere for holding water and liquor; the pots are dried in the sun and then baked; pottery is the work of women.

Rain coats and rain hats are made everywhere; but Rawyan in the south is most noted for this industry and also for the superior class of the article. The coat is made out of the bark of a tree and the hat is made of bamboo, bark, and date-palm leaves.

Trade.

The Chin, alive as he is to his own interests, is not a born trader like the Burman, and before our occupation the staple trade of the Hills, if we except the barter of bees-wax for salt, which was carried on to some extent by the Falam Chiefs with the Sawbwa of Kale, was the raiding and ransoming of Burman captives, which brought to the Chin, with but little trouble or risk, guns, gongs, salt, iron and any other luxury he desired. Money earned by carrying for the Commissariat Department, and by labour on public works, has now taken the place of slaves and plunder, and the exports in kind from the Hills remain as heretofore practically *nil*, save from those villages far away from our posts, whence bees-wax, "pet," the outside husk of the ear of the Indian-corn, which is largely used by the Burmans for covering cheroots, cane mats, and the horns of buffalo, deer, and other animals are exported. Of these the most valuable are tusks and the horns of the rhinoceros, the latter having a ready sale for use as medicine. The price of a fair-sized horn is as much as Rs. 100.

The principal articles of the import trade, which is by far the more important, are salt and iron, which are the only two things absolutely necessary to the Chin, and what may be termed luxuries, such as cattle, especially buffaloes, gongs, brass and iron pots, beads, ornaments of various kinds both of brass and white-metal, silk thread, coloured cotton yarn, yaw plaids, and, in time of scarcity, rice. The

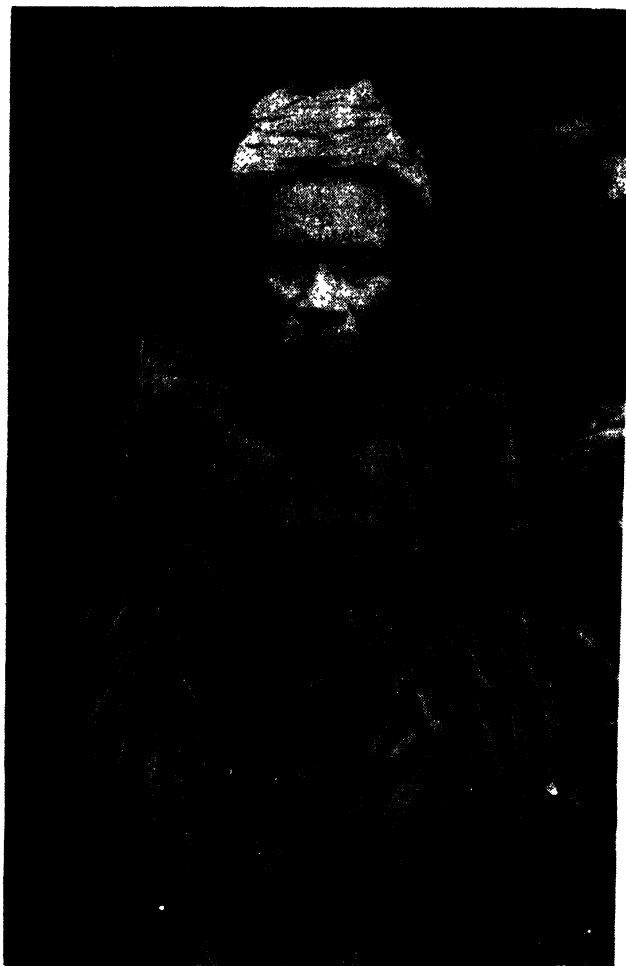


Photo-etching

Survey of India Office Calcutta, November 1905

19. CHIN RAIN-COAT.

favourite markets are Yazagyo, which is frequented by the Thados and Kanhows, Kalemio by the Siyins, Indin and Sihaung by the Tashons, and Myintha and Gangaw by the Hakas and other southern tribes. In addition, the bazaars kept by Natives of India, which flourish at all our posts, supply the Chins with beads, buttons, English cloth, stick tobacco and sugar, all of which are readily purchased. There is also a small trade in metal bells, silver beads, and other ornaments of Indian manufacture which find their way through the Lushai Hills from Chittagong and Akyab.

The internal trade is not large, and consists for the most part in the exchange of beads for live-stock, which gradually filters towards our posts, where the demand for fresh meat exceeds the available supply, and in the conversion of guns, gongs and similar valuables into grain when the crops of a particular village have failed.

The circulation of coin, the internal peace and cessation of raids between the Burmans and Chins, has naturally given a great impetus to trade, and we may expect that the ready market for grain which exists in our posts will cause the Chin to cultivate a larger area, and that the love of money will gradually induce him to sell his surplus grain instead of putting it into the liquor pots as is now the case.

Of all the Chins the Tashons are the keenest traders. Their method of

Salt trade of the
Tashons.

obtaining salt for sale has been described. This has enabled the Chiefs to effect a monopoly of the trade, as they are able to undersell all other traders; and to further

ensure that there should be no competition, they put every obstacle in the way of other villages going to the plains. Their plans have been so far successful that at the present time the Yahows, the Whenohs, the Kwunglis and the greater part of the Hakas, as well as the Tashons themselves, procure their supply from Falam. Thus, in the open season 1892-93 no less than 100,000 lbs. of salt were purchased at Indin and Sihaung, and passed through the hands of the Chiefs, who look to this as their chief source of wealth.

CHAPTER XXII.

HUNTING AND FISHING.

Hunting.

ALTHOUGH the hills contain a large variety of game, the quantity has been much reduced in the inhabited tracts owing to the practice, which we found in force, of the Chins carrying their guns whenever they left the village to cultivate, to visit neighbours, or to trade. Now, however, the carrying of guns on the main roads is prohibited and the Chins realize that it is no longer necessary to do so for their self-protection, and therefore a large amount of game now escapes which would formerly have been shot. The withdrawing of 4,000 guns from the natives during the past five years will have the effect of increasing the game enormously.

The Chin is an adept in the art of poaching; no bird, beast or fish is safe from his gun, arrow, net, snares, pits, traps, fingers, and pellet bows. He is an expert tracker and has an intimate knowledge of the ways and habits of all game, and he shoots at everything that comes to the gun. He has no respect for the breeding season and all the beasts of the forest are fit for food, except the tiger

and panther, and it is a great achievement to kill either of these. The Chins seldom hunt alone, and when in small parties they either track or follow the course of a stream to shoot the game whilst drinking. In March, when the grass is dry, all the jungle, which has up to that time escaped the jungle fires, is systematically burned and the game is thus driven into the nullahs, and parties sometimes 200 strong are then organized and the nullahs are beaten, the sides and exits being simply lined with guns, and the game, having but very small chance of escape, is slaughtered in numbers.

The Kanhows declare that they killed yearly several hundred head of game, chiefly deer, by this method in the uninhabited tract west of Tunzan and south of the Nwitè tribe.

The Chin charges his gun with from two to five bullets and he fires the same charge at elephant, tiger, monkey or pheasant. Elephants and tigers. When shooting elephant and tiger the hunter trusts for safety more to his agility than to his aim, for he does not expect to kill the animal for hours and perhaps for days. In the end he usually does kill it in the following manner. He aims at the body and generally a volley of several guns is fired at once; then each man escapes as best he can; after a while they return and follow the tracks of blood until they get another volley at the beast, which gradually sinks from exhaustion or from the effects of wounds in the intestines. So good a tracker is the Chin, that a wounded beast seldom escapes.

The Himalayan bear is the animal most feared by the Chins as, although elephants trample and tigers maul them, the most difficult animal to avoid is the bear, and large numbers of the natives carry terrible wounds and disfigurements received in encounters with this animal.

Bears.

Bows and arrows are often used for sporting purposes, especially for shooting deer, and are considered very deadly. The bow is about 3 feet 6 inches long and the arrow is short, feathered, and iron barbed. The arrow is usually discharged from the chest and not from the shoulder.

Although the Chins talk of poisoning arrows by sticking them in putrefying flesh, it appears that this is seldom, if ever, done. Although most of their arrows will probably produce blood-poisoning, this is due to the fact that the barbed heads are never cleaned, and that the arrows are often taken out of the putrefying carcass of an animal which escaped and then died and which was not found for days or weeks afterwards. A wounded deer has often to be followed for miles before it is secured.

Tiger and panther are trapped by placing over the path used by the animal a platform, on which half a ton of stones is piled; Trapping tigers and panthers. the platform is supported by a prop which is dislodged by the animal passing underneath, and the stones falling on the beast kill it and crush it out of shape. A heavy log is often substituted for the platform of stones, and the prop is connected with creepers across the road in which the beast becomes entangled. In its struggles to escape it releases the prop and the heavy beam falls and crushes out its life.

Tiger and panther, as well as small deer and other wild animals, are often caught in pits. The pit is dug on the side of a path and the path is block

ed with a log or several logs with one open place only ; the animal walks through this on to the covering of the pit, which being made of twigs, leaves, and grass, gives way under his weight and he falls headlong into it, where, if he is a tiger or panther, he is shot by the trapper when he visits his snares.

In the Southern Hills Chins sit up at night for bears and shoot them on moonlight nights in the Indian-corn fields ; deer and pig are shot in the same way, especially in the north.

Where partridges, pheasants and hare abound every Chin has by him a quantity of bamboo and string traps and these he sets by fifties at a time, and such is his knowledge of the ways of the birds that he catches them in large numbers. One method of trapping is to build a hedge about a mile in length and a foot or two high along the side of the hill between the summit and the water ; the hedge is built with several little gaps in it, all of which contain a trap, and the bird instead of flying over the little fence almost invariably runs along it until it comes to a gap through which it passes and is then taken in the trap.

Small birds of every kind are killed with the pellet bow, an implement which is by no means a toy in the hands of the Chin, who kills partridges and other birds at 15 and 20 paces with surprising accuracy.

Pigeons and doves are caught with bird-lime, which is nothing more than the gum of a tree and which is smeared on the boughs of the trees which the birds frequent.

Fishing.

The Chin has six methods of killing fish ; he shoots them with gun and bow as they bask in the sun or rise at fly ; he catches them in bamboo traps and with cast nets ; he poisons them ; he tickles them ; and he secures them by draining off the stream into other channels and then baling out the deep pools.

The bamboo trap is used only at low water ; it is of any size, according to the width of the channel in which it is to be sunk ; it is merely a huge bottle-shaped basket. The channel is narrowed with walls of stone until all the water is guided through the trap ; the Chins then drive the fish into the trap by hurling rocks into all the pools above it. In the Tyao river huge cat-fish are taken in this way and are speared in the basket.

Almost every Chin can use the cast net, and they kill large quantities of fish with it at night in almost every stream in the hills.

The streams are poisoned with the bark of a tree (*Acacia procera*), which is pounded up and thrown into the pools. In a short time the fish are rendered insensible and rising belly upwards are easily secured. Fish so poisoned are not deleterious as food.

The most simple way of killing fish is tickling them. The Chin commences by hurling rocks into a deep pool to drive the fish out ; they then take refuge under the rocks in the rapids, where they are seized with the fingers and brought to bank.

Next to the villainous method of poisoning streams comes the unsportsmanlike procedure of diverting a channel and baling out the pools and thus killing the fish, but the gun, the cast net, and tickling all give good sport and require skill.

Prospects of sport in the hills.

We have had so much punitive work during the few years of our occupation that we have had but little chance of sport and have acquired but small experience of the best places to find it. However, it may be useful to new-comers to record the habitat of the various species of game, which has been ascertained during many months of wanderings throughout the length and breadth of the entire tract.

Elephants are now only found along the whole length of the Burma border, in the south-west corner of the district, and in the north and in the valleys of the Tuivai and Tuivel streams.

There is an elephant road from the Tuivai river across the hills into Assam, which is used yearly.

Tiger and panther are found more frequently in the Northern Chin Hills than elsewhere; they are fairly numerous on the eastern slopes of the Letha range, and the vicinity of Lenacot, Sinnum, and Mwelpi villages is noted for the presence of these animals.

Bears are found in large numbers on the Imbukklang, the Letha range, the hills to the west of Rawywa, and on all densely wooded ranges.

Bison are always to be found on the Tuimong, Tuivai, Tuivel, Tuinan, and other streams in the neighbourhood of latitude 24° and between the Manipur river and the Lushai border, also on the Imbukklang.

Rhinoceros are found on the Letha range and in the valleys on the east; also on the Imbukklang and in the Tuimong and Tuinan country.

Pig are found wherever there is a large forest and at all altitudes. Serrao are found on the high hills, especially in the north, and gorral are numerous near Fort White, Sagyilain, and on the steep cliffs of the Manipur river at Kunchaung.

Barking deer are found everywhere and sambur are numerous, notably in the large forests on the Imbukklang, Lunglen, the Letha range, and the Webula, which is the favourite shooting-ground of the Tashons; but they are to be found in almost every nullah in secluded tracts, such as in the uninhabited tract east of the Letha range and the uninhabited tract west of the Manipur river and north of the Nwengal villages of Mwial and Laitwi.

In hunting large game, sitting up over water, lying in wait for game as it returns from the lowlands in the early morning, and tracking or quietly working nullahs are the only tactics to be followed. In shooting small game, however, unless accompanied by dogs, the sportsman will see practically nothing as all birds, whether pheasant, partridge, wood-cock, or jungle-fowl, lie very close. With good dogs very fair sport can be found everywhere.

In the Northern Hills excellent sport can be had by driving the nullahs for pheasant, hare, and partridge, the nullahs around Sagyilain, Toklaing, Tavak, and Nashwin (deserted) being full of game. To beat these nullahs some 30 heaters are required, and small boys in preference to men should be requisitioned, as not only are they excellent at the work, but they thoroughly enjoy it. The nullahs around Saiyan and Wunkathe are barren of game. Good sport is obtainable round Tunzan in the north.

A moderate quantity of wood-cock is found throughout the hills, especially around Haka, in January, February, and March; they may be got in any stream, nullah, or wood, and all places seem equally good.

Saipe are found in small numbers in marshes and along the banks of streams, but no large bag need be expected.

Jungle-fowl are occasionally found at an altitude of 5,000 feet and in the low beds of rivers, as well as at the foot of the hills, where they abound; there is a fair quantity at both Toklaing and Tunzan in the north and around Hairon in the south.

The only really good thing in Chinland is the fishing and this is excellent. Mahseer have been killed weighing over 30 pounds in the Manipur river and, although the disturbed state of the country in past years has admitted of fishing being a very occasional treat, yet several large fish have been killed with the rod.

Fly has been used with success in the Pao, the Chaunggwa stream, and the Segyi below No 3 Stockade. In the former fish only run to about $\frac{1}{2}$ lb., but afford excellent sport and are readily taken with (1) red and black Palmer's, (2) coachman, (3) red spinner, (4) coch-y-bondu.

In the Chaunggwa stream fish can be taken up to 4 lbs. with fly, but usually they average about $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. The most deadly flies in this stream are (1) a small black-a-moor fly, lake trout size, and (2) an entirely blue-fly (the brighter blue the better), which must be specially made as it is not one of the recognized varieties.

In the Manipur river trolling with natural bait in the rapids is the most successful method of killing fish. Chilwas and loach appear to be equally good as bait, and the dull colour of the latter appears to be as tempting as the bright but easily torn chilwa.

When the water is too shallow in the rapids and too clear in the still pools for trolling, as is often the case in the smaller streams, such as at Chaunggwa, a very successful method of taking fish is to fish on the bottom in still pools with a dead natural bait: the fish take this bait well, but the fisherman must expect to lose fish and to have his line broken through being caught in rocks and entangled in stumps and boulders.

Chilwas for bait are best taken in the cast net or hooked with a black great fly. When peepul trees grow on the banks of a stream an excellent catch is ensured by baiting a single hook with a ripe berry and either dropping it into pools or casting into rapids. Phantoms, spoons, and all artificial baits have been tried and found useless, and either natural bait or fly should be used. Large fish have been taken by bottom fishing with atta paste and with the entrails of a fowl.

The best streams for trolling in the hills are the Manipur river and the Segyi stream, whilst for dead bait bottom fishing and for fly the Chaunggwa stream, the Nanpathi, the Manlon, and Nataga are very good.

All the streams which discharge into the Kale valley north of Kalembo are full of large and greedy fish, but, except in the Segyi, where trolling pays, fly or natural berries should be used.

The Boinu is a most deceptive and disappointing river, for in spite of its deep pools and fine rapids it contains no fish above Shurkwa in the fishing season, the reason being probably its great length and the coldness of the water so far north.

As fishing is the only treat which these inhospitable hills afford to the Englishman, it behoves all officers to check the destruction of fish by dynamite, an explosive which, extraordinary as it may sound, finds its way into

the hands of sepoys and coolies, and much of which, instead of assisting to improve the roads, has been misused to devastate the rivers and thus spoil the only good sport available.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE ARMS OF THE CHINS AND THE LOCAL MANUFACTURE OF GUNPOWDER AND BULLETS.

Arms.

SIXTY years ago the weapons of the Chins were bows and arrows, spears, and short das. The warrior also carried a raw hide shield, which was capable of resisting the force of these primitive weapons. At this period guns began to find their way into the country, at first chiefly through Burma and later on the majority through the Lushai hills until the annexation of Upper Burma and the disarming of the border districts, which forced a large number of guns into the hills, for the Burmans preferred to sell their guns for a trifle to the Chins to giving them up for nothing to British Officers.

Spears are still universally used as a weapon of war; they are usually 5 feet long, shod at the butt with a long foursided spike and at the other end with the spear head, which is sharpened at the sides as well as at the point; the weapon is very heavy as one-half and often two-thirds of its length is iron and the wooden shank is merely used to connect the sharp pointed iron butt with the razor-edged spear-head.

Spears. Spear-heads vary considerably in form, according to whim. The handsomest shapes are found amongst the southerners, whilst the very broad-bladed spear-head is a curiosity found only amongst the Whenohs and Yahows. The spear-heads of local manufacture invariably have the same great failing; the socket into which the wooden shank fits is always too shallow and the heads consequently fall off easily. It is not the custom, as amongst the Nagas, to decorate spears with human hair or with any ornamentation; occasionally a spear is noticed with a fringe of goat's hair dyed red fastened below the head.

Bows and arrows are still used for shooting game, but not as weapons of war. The bow is from 2½ to 4 feet long, is made of bamboo, and the bow string is also made of bamboo; the arrow is 1 foot to 18 inches in length, iron-barbed and feathered. The arrow is usually discharged from the chest and apparently with no great force, but it is astonishing how hard the iron-shod arrow hits, for we have seen an arrow flicked from the bow, drawn only to the chest, penetrate an inch of board.

The people speak of poisoned arrows, and it is blood-poisoning which they allude to and not to a vegetable poison. The arrows are said to be stuck into a putrefying carcass before use, and the wounds then inflicted by them are fatal and caused by blood-poisoning. Putrefying kidneys are considered the best portion of the carcass for poisoning arrows. Arrows are not now poisoned as they are only used as a weapon of the chase.

The shield is merely a reminiscence of a by-gone day. A few shields may still be found in almost every village, and they are brought out and carried by dancers at feasts. The shield made out of the hide of the mithun is some $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad; in the centre is a boss projecting outwards, and inside the cavity are two cane handles which the hand grasps. The shields are very tough and effectually stop arrows, though these do penetrate sometimes as much as 6 inches. Often these shields are adorned with two or more rows of brass discs and tassels of goat's hair dyed red.

The da is a distinctly poor weapon, being short, badly shaped, and of inferior metal; it is carried in a wooden scabbard on the back and is kept in place by a cord passed over one shoulder and under the opposite arm. Amongst the Tashons and their tributaries and the Southern Chins is occasionally found a curious da, $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, bill-hook shaped, with a brass handle and guard, from the end of which falls the beard of a goat stained red. The da is carried in a basket-work scabbard plaited in bamboo or cane. The people say that this da was originally used for decapitating the slain, but this seems hardly probable as the natives themselves can hardly grasp the peculiarly shaped handle, and it is more than probable that the da was intended merely as an ornament for Chiefs and to be carried at feasts and at dances. That the weapon has been carried in times of war by Chiefs has been noticed, but that they have been used for decapitating the slain has not been observed.

Over 4,000 guns have been withdrawn from the Chins since our occupation, the great majority having been surrendered during 1893 and the two following open seasons.¹ All these guns have been brought to the Political Officers, and notes have been kept as to the names of the makers and the dates as engraved or stamped on the locks. Occasionally an American gun, stamped Harpers Ferry or N. Haven, and French guns marked St. Etienne, and Russian and German weapons are found, but they are the exception. About 98 per cent. of the guns are of English make and 2 per cent. made on the Continent and in America. Amongst guns recently surrendered are an Italian weapon marked M. Imple. De Turin, and also a French weapon, on which is engraved—

Mre. de Maiz.

Service.

Des douanes.

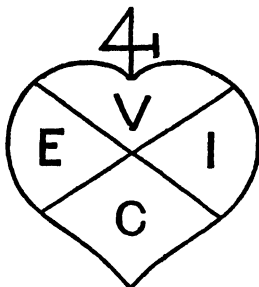
The guns are all flint-locks and the majority are stamped tower and bear the device—



G. R.
TOWER.

¹ More than 2,000 in addition to the above were withdrawn in 1895-96.

Quite one-quarter of the muskets bear, besides the maker's name, the following device :—



If instead of the V there was an H, one could interpret the meaning as "Honourable East India Company." From the variety of names which appear on gun-locks the following dozen are given either as being of interest or as appearing most frequently :—

Memory, 1787.
 Moore, 1779.
 J. Manton, 1790.
 Mortimer, 1797.
 Renshaw, 1779.
 Gardiner.

Barnes.
 Griffin and Tow, 1781.
 Blake.
 Twigg, 1775.
 Sargeant.
 Barnett.

That guns have come into the country from both east and west is demonstrated by the fact that weapons with the names of Burmans in Burmese characters and the names of Indian sepoy in the Persian character have been found stamped on the heel-plates of muskets. In muskets bearing the numbers of regiments, the company and the number of the weapons are occasionally found; and this year in the south four muskets were received, two bearing the following brand,—1st Bn. Gr. Gds. and the other marked respectively XI Regt. and 51st Regt.

The gun barrels are of all lengths and bore; some are under 2 feet in length, whilst occasionally a gun 5 feet 6 inches long is found. The excellent "Brown Bess" barrel, always 70 and often over 100 years old, is not only found in a good state of preservation, but resists the hammer and anvil in a most astonishing manner; it is true that some are as thick as gas-pipes, but it is equally true that others are not, and they all seem to possess such a power of resisting wear and tear that it is useless to look to time to finish off the guns which are now in the country, and we must break them up ourselves in order to disarm the people. All are not of the Tower pattern, for cheap twisted ones of inferior make, and brittle drawn barrels are also frequently found, and occasionally a real old stub barrel of the best English manufacture of the early part of the century. Quite 5 per cent. of the barrels are found to have been cut in half and very neatly joined together again, the butt piece being filed to admit of its entering the muzzle piece, and the two have then not only been soldered together, but also fastened with one iron rivet. This work is not only skilfully executed, but also demanded the use of fine tools, which the natives do not possess, and the most probable explanation is that barrels were cut in half and thus more easily

smuggled into Upper Burma, when they were pieced together again by Europeans in the service of the King, or by agents of the shippers. So well have these half barrels been joined that it is often impossible to break them at the joint across the knee, though a blow or two on the anvil at once snaps them. It is more than probable that when the flint-lock gave way to the percussion-cap gun, the obsolete weapons were sold as old iron in England, but, instead of being broken up, they were shipped out to ports such as Rangoon and Chittagong to be sold to the natives; and when one sees one's comrades shot, or the tribesmen out of hand, it is very bitter to think that the weapons which are killing our people and causing us so much anxiety were manufactured by ourselves and were formerly held by our own troops.

The Chin blacksmiths are unable to make gun barrels, springs, and hammers, and, when breaking up guns, great care should always be taken that the locks and butt end of the barrels never fall into the hands of the people, who are able to beat out and file into shape all the other component parts of the gun. Often the locks of the guns contain pieces of native workmanship and even springs, though they are usually too weak or brittle to be of any permanent use. The native cannot convert the Martini-Henry or the Snider rifle, and these weapons are useless to him after any ammunition which has fallen into his hands is expended, but percussion-cap guns have been converted into flint-locks locally, and for this reason it is preferable to arm such people as Indian mail-runners, bullock drivers, or Panthays with breech-loaders in preference to muzzle-loaders, if it should ever be necessary to arm them at all. The guns taken from the Northern Chin Hills were well broken up and then placed in the foundations of the permanent buildings; those taken in the south were broken up small and the broken locks and butt ends were sunk in deep pools in the Boinu river; this arrangement is safe, but not so good as burying them inside our posts.

The Chin hates weight in a gun and therefore he invariably discards the stock of western manufacture and carves out one of his own pattern and peculiar to himself. This custom is universal throughout the hills, but the workmanship of the Siyins and Soktes is infinitely superior to that of the southerners; their stock is lighter in weight and more slender and graceful in form than those heavy and more clumsily hewn stocks of the south, and, although a new-comer to the hills would not detect any difference, an old resident can tell by a captured gun whether a band of raiders were northerners or southerners. The Chin values his gun according to its lightness, length, bore of barrel, and class of lock; the barrel should be as long as possible and the bore not larger or smaller than to just admit the top joint of the third finger at the muzzle, and the lock most appreciated is the one with the heavy hammer, which possesses the longest and stoutest main spring.

The stock is carved out of willow and also out of a species of beech, which are both very light wood when seasoned; the wood is properly dried before being carved, and then it is fitted on to barrel and lock and decorated with brass heel-plates, trigger-guard, ramrod and ramrod rings, and the wood work is varnished with tree oil (black) and ornamented with vermilion streaks and patches. The varnishing of the guns with black tree oil is a curious custom; it gives the gun a very smart appearance; but his gun is the most prized possession of the Chin and nothing is too much trouble if it can decorate or improve his treasure. Wunkathe in the Northern Chin

Hills was noted for its beautiful guns and, when that village was disarmed, we found that the reputation was fully deserved, for the barrels were as bright as silver, the gun-stocks were beautifully shaped, and the paint, varnish, brass-work, and all other appointments were perfect.

The characteristic of the gun which strikes an Englishman most is the extreme smallness and narrowness of the butt and heel-plate, for the recoil from the heavy charge is enormous, and from this the narrow heel is quite incapable of protecting the shoulder. Our weapons are heavy in the stock and light at the muzzle, but the Chin weapon is the reverse; the stock weighs next to nothing, and all the weight lies in the barrel; and as the Chin is able to withstand the recoil, one would expect better marksmanship from him as the weapon cannot be so apt to kick up and throw high as ours are so very prone to do.

The Chin weapon has been spoken of as a rickety thing, which falls to pieces when shaken, and it is said that it is dangerous to fire; but such a statement coming from any man shows that he is a new-comer or inexperienced. For the great advantage of the weapon is, that when it gets out of order, the Chin sits down and, producing from his haversack a screw-driver, spike, and a small hammer all in one tool, he unscrews and takes the lock to pieces and quickly places the spring and other component parts in order again; he then greases the whole with pig's fat, which is always carried in a little bamboo tube in the haversack, then screwing his gun together again he puts a little fresh powder in the pan and is once more ready for action. Of course when 10 guns of this sort are tied on each side of a mule and are jolted over the hills for miles, it is only to be expected that screws will fall out and locks get out of order, but in a few minutes a Chin would put all the damage straight again. That the guns, as a rule, are capable of withstanding very heavy charges of powder is apparent to those who have seen many hundred barrels broken up.

Ammunition.

One has read in reports and gazetteers that the Chins manufacture locally a weak powder, but after some years' experience we are in position to assert that the powder, although slow in igniting, is particularly powerful. We have seen men shot at a distance of 200, 300, and 400 yards, and, when one takes into consideration that the bullet is a light one and circular, and that the barrel is smooth-bored, one has a very high respect indeed for the local gunpowder. At feasts one sees a Chin drive two round slugs through the shoulder of a mithun, which pass out the other side of the beast, or crash the bullets through the skull far into the neck beyond, and this is proof enough that the powder is not weak. If more is wanted, the sceptic has but to stand behind a tree and let a Chin shoot at it at 400 yards; he will not hit it, because his slugs do not fit his weapon and because his thick sight is unsuited for marksmanship, but he will place his bullets with plenty of force in the vicinity, in a manner which, if not dangerous to the man behind the tree, would be distinctly so for a group of men scattered around it. Those of us who fought the Siyins in 1888-89 and again in 1892-93 need no assurance that the Chin powder is good. The Pimpis made it unpleasant for us at 400 yards, and at the passage of the Manipur river the Chins dropped bullets amongst us at still greater range.



Photo-etching.

Survey of India Office, Calcutta, November 1906

7. POWDER HORNS.

The manufacture of powder is effected in the following manner, which perhaps is the most curious and extraordinary of all Chin customs. Where, when, and how they learnt the secret is a matter worthy of very deep thought; perhaps it came from the Chinese through the Burmans. As described in a former chapter, the Chin house is so built that the pig-pen may be beneath the house and the household latrine immediately above the pen. The sides of the pig-pen are banked up so that no rain may fall or flow into it and spoil or wash away the surface of the soil in order that the ground of the pig-pen may get a good thick crust of excrement. The nitrates obtained from this are used for making gunpowder and the pen is left untouched, save by the pigs, for at least three years, the latrine being constantly used during this period and the pigs beneath doing their duty in the way of eating, defæcating, and trampling all the time. Then there is found to be about one inch of artificial deposit on the surface of the soil. This fæcal and urine impregnated deposit is then trowelled up and placed in a basket, which is suspended above a receptacle; water is poured on to the deposit and allowed to filter through into the receptacle below the water; after being filtered through, the deposit assumes a reddish colour and is passed through and through, time and time again, until all the nitrates are dissolved. When the water after passing through the deposit remains quite clear and colourless the process is considered complete. The deposit is now thrown away and the reddish water is boiled until most of it has evaporated; the remainder is kept in the receptacle until it is cold, when it is passed through a sieve; the nitrate crystals adhere to the sieve and the water drains into another receptacle. The nitrates are then taken from the sieve, crystallized out, and mixed with an equal weight of charcoal, which has been so carefully pounded up that it is all dust and contains no lumps and then the powder is ready for the gun. Meanwhile that water which remained after having been passed through the sieve and was not boiled away is now mixed with wood-ashes and made into a rough brick-shaped mass which is dried in the sun and then mixed with a fresh basket full of excrement from the pig-pen and the process of pouring water over it is gone through again, and this time, on account of the addition of the water from the former boiling, the water when boiled, cooled, and passed through the sieve gives a large increase of nitrates over the first boiling. Should the excrement be burnt, or saturated with water whilst under the house, it is useless for producing nitrates.

The next question that arises is where the sulphur comes from, as powder must have sulphur as an ingredient. Although a sulphur spring has been found in the hills, the Chins do not directly look to the earth for their sulphur, and before our occupation of their tract they imported large quantities from Upper Burma. Now this import is stopped, but it does not prevent the manufacture of powder, for, to begin with, it must be remembered that in fæces there is a certain quantity of sulphur, but a larger quantity is found in the *aunglauk* bean, which when burnt gives the charcoal which is used to mix with the nitre. This bean is known as "aunglauk" by the Burmans and to the Chins as *nattang* in the north and is spoken of as "Ga" by Colonel McCulloch in 1859, but we know no English name for it.

We know that the Chins soak it for days in streams until it is soft and rotten before he cooks it for food, and we know that the bean when soak-

ing gives off a very powerful stench of sulphuretted hydrogen and also that, if the bean is eaten without being previously soaked until rotten, it is poisonous and kills quickly. There is no doubt about the fact that the Chin derives his saltpetre or its substitutes from his dung-heap and his sulphur and charcoal from a bean, and that the gunpowder thus manufactured is as strong and powerful as that with which he mixes imported sulphur, though without the addition of imported sulphur it is slower in ignition. When mixing the charcoal with the nitre it is not uncommon to sprinkle the mixture with zu or Chin liquor if it appears to be too dusty. Charcoal made from a tree called "Mayagi" by the Burmans is also used, but not as a rule, except when imported sulphur is added.

There are two classes of powder, the coarse, which is poured down the barrel, and the fine dust, which is used for priming the pan. The former is carried in a flask made of the horn of a mithun and the latter is carried in the dainty horn of a goral. Both flasks are ornamented, and the larger one is polished by hand and extravagantly decorated with lacquer, vermilion, and silver. The Chin has no measure for regulating the charge he pours into the barrel; what he guesses is sufficient, though to our minds the charge is excessive. Probably all the powder is not burnt. Old rags and tree leaves are used as wadding.

The projectile of the Chin gun varies in composition, size, and quantity.

Projectiles. Lead of course is the favourite metal, but it is fortunately scarce and the Chin has had to turn to brass, bell-metal, iron, round stones, and even to clay pellets. The leaden balls are cast in moulds which are made as follows. First of all bees-wax balls of the size of the bullets required are rolled and are strung on a slim strip of bamboo, which is run through the centre of each ball, a quarter of an inch dividing each; the balls are then smeared with a composition of wet clay and paddy husks and placed in the sun to harden; the bamboo skewer is withdrawn and the mould heated over the fire until the wax runs out through the passage made by the withdrawal of the skewer. Molten lead is poured into the mould, which is then broken, and the leaden bullets are found the exact size and shape of the original balls of bees-wax and all connected by a leaden neck, the circumference of which is the same as that of the bamboo skewer originally used. The bullets have but to be separated with knife or axe and are then placed in the bullet bag, which is carried in the haversack.

Iron has always been obtainable from Burma, usually in bar form, and out of this bullets are made either by melting and running into moulds or more often by cutting off pieces and hammering them more or less round. The iron bullet is the least dangerous of all as it is light, does not flatten, and is clean and will run often round a bone instead of crushing through it as the lead one does.

Brass has been plundered from pagodas in Burma and used as bullets after having been melted, and during the rebellion of 1892-93 the most common bullets were made of melted telegraph wire and insulator stalks. Until 1893 it was impossible to keep the telegraph wire on the trees. It was constantly being stolen by Chins and made into armlets and bangles or cut up and used as slugs.

The clay pellets are far more dangerous than one would suppose; they are made of very fine and pure clay, which is taken from the beds of certain streams and which is thoroughly kneaded and cleansed of all impurities; it

is then fashioned into balls which are baked as hard as stone. The Chin says that this clay ball will penetrate the stomach at close quarters and he chiefly relies on his ambushes at close quarters. If it strikes a bone, the clay ball will break up and fill the wound with mud and often cause death from putrefaction. The stones which are used are as round as necessary, or oblong, and are taken from the river-beds.

Chins are known to have used an iron arrow with a barb, which protrudes from the muzzle, to shoot elephants. Similarly pieces of telegraph wire have been used against us. In 1890 a naik of the 42nd Gurkhas was killed and almost decapitated by a long piece of telegraph wire which was fired at him at about 20 paces and which struck him lengthways across the face.

CHAPTER XXIV.

RAIDS AND METHOD OF WARFARE.

THE word "Shim" of the Northern Chin dialect means both to fight and to raid. The whole system of warfare is what we call raiding, and the only tactics resorted to are those devoted to surprising the enemy.

The Chins, Lushais, and Kukis are noted for the secrecy of their plans, the suddenness of their raids, and their extraordinary speed in retreating to their fastnesses.

Raids are dying out because we have dealt with raiders with a very heavy hand. They will occasionally be heard of, for the people love them and can no more be immediately weaned from head-taking than can the Burmans from dacoity; but the old blood feuds, if not dead, are now dormant and the cruel relentless ravages into Burma are a thing of the past.

Amongst themselves the people had innumerable blood feuds which were handed down from generation to generation. Often these blood feuds originated in a quarrel over the price of a mithun, the ownership of a field, the division of inheritance, the price of a wife; the quarrel led to blows, the blows to blood. The feud was then started and blood was avenged in blood only to be avenged again in the same way. Not only did the feud necessitate the spilling of the blood of the descendants of the original disputants, but whole villages became involved and innocent blood was as freely spilled as that of the families at feud.

When first we came up to the Chin Hills it was no uncommon thing to hear of 40 and 50 persons of the same village having been killed in the five previous years whilst hunting, fishing, and cultivating.

No one was safe: the women worked in the fields guarded by the men; no one ever knew when raiders from many villages at feud with theirs were lying along the paths, and piquets kept guard night and day on the approaches to the villages.

The most striking characteristic of the Chin-Lushai raid is the extraordinary distances which the raiders cover to reach the scene of operations. After committing a raid they have been known to march two days and two nights consecutively without cooking a meal or sleeping so as to escape from any rescue parties which might follow them.

We have known of two men (one Wumkai is in Myingyan jail now) who went forth together to hunt for heads in pursuance of a family feud. After marching for 40 miles through an enemy's country they lay by the side of a

road near the enemy's village. When three men and two women came along the path returning from the fields, they each killed one man with their guns and then rushing in with their spears despatched the other three. Quickly cutting off their heads these two men dived into the jungle and picked their way home through an enemy's country and placed the five heads on two posts, as a mark of their prowess and as a set-off against the heads of their relatives which had been similarly set up from time to time by their enemy at his village.

Raiding parties are of all sizes. When a raid on the Lushais, Kukis or

Raiding parties. Burmans was arranged, the parties consisted of as many as 400 men. When a family merely required a head to

stick on a post, ten, five, and even two men started off together, with a week's food on their backs and their guns in their hands, to sneak through 20 or 50 miles of jungle and shoot a woman whilst cultivating, or a man returning from his field or from his neighbour's village.

When fortune favoured the raiders they returned home with booty, captives, and human heads; but sometimes they did not return. Instead of bringing back heads, they left their own on posts on the paths leading to the enemy's village, at once a trophy and a warning to other raiders.

In tribal warfare a village was seldom attacked openly and only when

Tribal warfare. the attacking force far outnumbered the villagers, or when the village could be taken by complete surprise.

The universal method of bringing a refractory clan into a proper state of subordination or to subdue a village was to hang about the paths and fields and shoot and spear cultivators male and female. This system invariably brought the less numerous community to its knees. The dealings of the Tashons with their neighbours afford instances of this method.

Until quite recent years there was a season known as "the raiding season," approximately October to March, after the crops had been gathered and when there was no work of great importance to be done in the fields. It was then that the hillmen perpetrated atrocities in the plains, kept the tea-planters of Assam on the alert, and almost annihilated the wretched border subjects of the King of Ava.

Raids were undertaken by a tribe, or a clan, by villages, or by a handful of young men who wanted revenge, plunder, or excitement.

In all cases the raid was decided on with due care and consideration.

Preparations for a raid. The village to be attacked was chosen, the date and strength of parties fixed, and spies sent out to acquire information regarding the fortifications. These spies either entered the village as traders, or visited "tame" Chins in other villages, from whom they got the required information, or they sneaked round the village at night. This last proceeding often apprised a village of an intended attack, for the villages kept a look-out for foot-prints at the fords leading from the hills. When all arrangements were concluded an animal was sacrificed, and its liver examined to ascertain whether the spirits were propitious. Even at this stage a raid would possibly be abandoned if the liver was diseased and the omen bad.

Presuming that the omen was good, the raiders started forth, each carrying his weapons, his food-supply, and blanket. If the

Starting for a raid. party was a hundred strong, some 25 carried no guns, but only spears or darts and rope; these men were slaves whose

work was to carry off the bodies of the dead and wounded, to drive off cattle, and carry loads of plunder.

The raiders reached the borders of the plains in any order. Once there, they were on the alert and, after placing piquets around them, they cooked their meals and waited for the darkness of night, when they advanced in regular order. In front were slave boys and unimportant men who scouted and brought back any information to the main body, which proceeded in single file. If the raiders stumbled on to a party of troops or a village piquet, the slaves in the advance received the volley and the main body effected its escape back to the hills in safety. If when an ambuscade is laid a Chin party is seen approaching, care should be taken to aim, not at the leading men who are slaves and nobodies, but at the men in the middle of the line, who are the Chiefs and persons of importance.

When the scouts reached the village, the main body closed up, whilst half a dozen men would try to effect an entrance through the hedge of thorns or stockade without alarming the villages.

Sometimes they succeeded, though occasionally a Burman sentry and more often the village dogs would give the alarm. Then the raiders, naked and with their blankets rolled round their shoulders or waists in a coil, rushed at the stockade, some firing, whilst others cut an entrance into the village, the whole party shouting and yelling at the top of their voices. The Burmans usually bolted at the first alarm, though it is well known that whenever a dozen men get together in any stockaded position they can and have driven off the Chins with loss.

Inside villages of the Kale valley there are excellent forts, consisting of stout stockades around bushes and trees. These stockades the Chins never took, for their idea of war is averse to taking stockades in the face of any enemy. Unfortunately the Burman equally feels that he is not called on to risk his life inside his fort. Usually, therefore, the yelling horde of naked savages rushed into the village, shooting, cutting down, and stabbing with spears the terror-stricken villagers, who fled in every direction or hid in nooks and corners. After the majority of the people had fled the raiders used to set to work to hunt for any Burmans who might be hidden in the village and also to plunder the houses and collect the cattle. In order to throw light upon the scene a house was sometimes set on fire, but it was considered a mistake to wilfully burn a village, for this scatters the inhabitants whom the Chins hoped often to plunder again on future occasions.

After the village had been thoroughly ransacked the raiders quickly collected and made a start for the hills, driving the cattle before and dragging the captives along with them as fast as possible, whilst a strong rear-guard, unhampered by plunder or captives, covered the retreat and poured volleys into any rescue party which might follow. When the hills were gained the party stopped, the captives were bound up in a long line, the cattle were caught and led, the loads were properly tied up and distributed, and the heads of the slain were given over to the wretched trembling captives to carry. It occurred that mothers have been forced to carry the heads of their murdered children and children those of their parents from their villages in Burma to be set up in triumph in the hills. The party without unnecessary delay would then march off with a large guard over the captives and a strong rear-guard to keep off any relief party.

Raiders often carried bundles of panjies or bamboo spikes, 6 inches long. As the rear-guard retired they stuck these in the ground along the path and in the grass alongside the path in order to spike and lame pursuers. These bamboo spikes inflict a very nasty wound and often run right through the foot, and all men who go on naked feet dread them.

The return march to the village was accomplished as quickly as possible, but the pace and length of marches depended on the cattle and the captives; weak and wounded captives who delay progress were usually cut down or speared and their heads given to the other captives to carry.

Information of the success of the raid was at once despatched to the village, which prepared for the triumphal entry of the heroes, who approached the village firing off their guns in honour of their glorious return.

The heads of the slain were never taken inside the village, but were at once stuck up on posts placed outside the village precincts and on the main road to the village, for it was feared that the spirits of the murdered persons would haunt the village if they were taken or kept inside the village.

On arrival at the village the party was met by the entire population, young and old, male and female, who shouted, cheered, and caressed them, and then led them at once to the liquor pots, where they sat and told their tale of bloodshed and pillage to the admiring women and to the men who were too old and the boys who were too young to carry arms. Each man of the raiders took his own captives to his home and here hobbled them or shut them up in a keep until the rejoicings were over. The return of raiders was always celebrated by a feast, some of the raided cattle being slaughtered at once for the purpose. The incidents of a feast have already been described.

When the feast was over the question of the division of the booty would be seriously discussed. Plunder taken by slaves belonged to their masters, although perhaps they stayed at home and incurred no danger. The Chief of the raiding party received his share of all the spoil, and the Chief of the village was also entitled to a share of slaves and other spoil.

Slaves taken in raids were usually hobbled and at once set to work in the fields or on household duties and, to give the savage his due, he did not as a rule maltreat his captives, provided that they did not attempt escape. They had to work

Treatment of slaves.

hard and in return they got their food. If they refused to work or worked slowly they were beaten or starved and, if they attempted to escape and were retaken, their heads were usually cut off and placed on a post *pour encourager les autres*. Of course a man's slave was as much his property as his gun or his blanket and he could do what he liked with him. But the Burmans declare that as a rule the ravishing of women was rare. It is true that many maidens and wives who have been carried off to Chinland have returned to Burma with children of their Chin lords or lovers, but the Burman woman is a Cressida, who is capable of consoling herself with a Chin Diomed when she has been carried off from her Burman Troilus.

When engaged on raids Chins were very superstitious and would retrace their steps if one of the party met with any accident or if anything of ill-omen or which could be interpreted as betokening disaster to the expedition was seen.

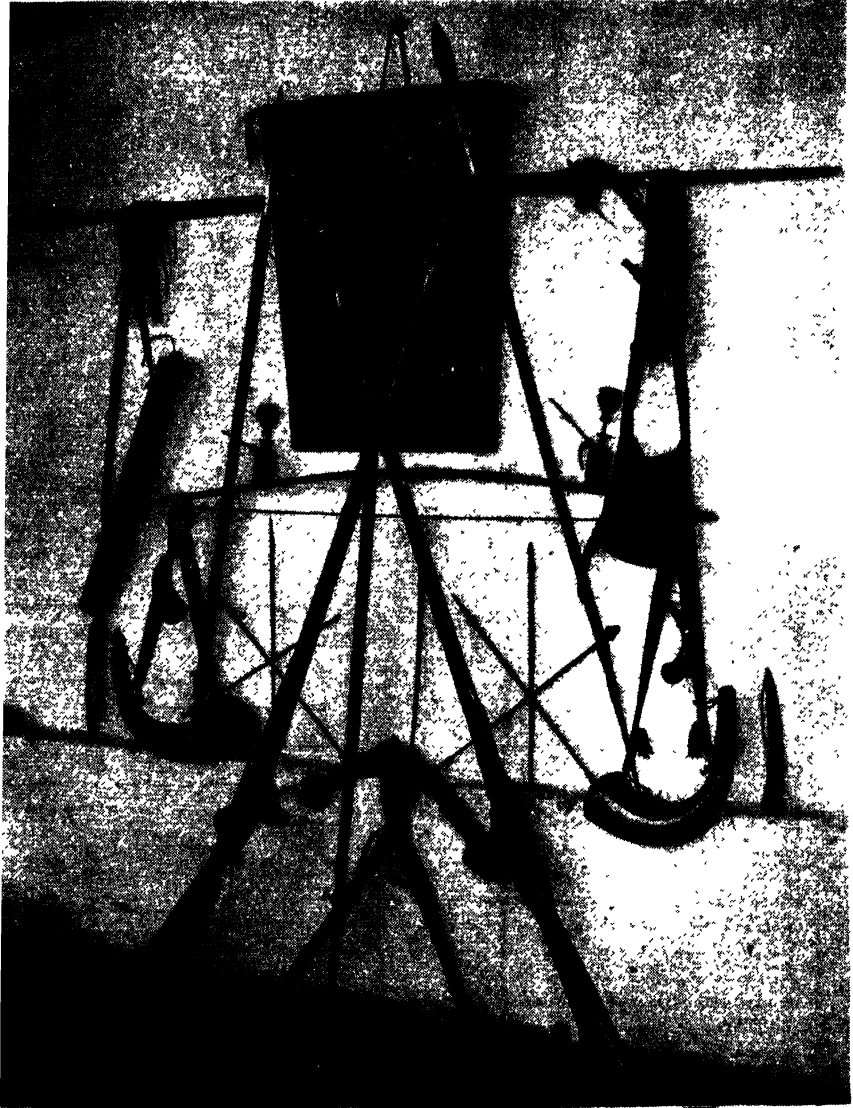


Photo etching.

Survey of India Office, Calcutta, November 1855.

Method of fighting in the hills.

When we first advanced into the hills the Chins fought in the open and from behind stockades, but they soon learnt that our quick-firing rifles were too much for them; and they could not stand against the charge of British and Gurkha troops. They then tried fighting from covered-in trenches as at Tartan in 1889. This fight, though considered but a drawn battle from our point of view, was regarded by the Chins as an overwhelming disaster to their arms; they frankly admitted that they were beaten and could never again stand face to face with British troops.

In many Chin discussions and councils it was argued that, although fighting in the open and holding stockaded positions were impossible, they could more than hold their own in guerilla warfare. In 1890 therefore the Chin tactics were persistently to hang around parties, firing from secure ambuscades, or cutting up stragglers on the lines of communication. At this time we used to march out 200 strong with the same number of coolies, all of whom had to be defended, in addition to the cumbersome doolies and other impedimenta, and as we could only proceed in single file, the column wound round the hills often a mile and more in length. The Chins saw their chance and buzzed about the long unwieldy column like hornets, firing first into the advance guard, then into the baggage, and again into the rear-guard. In these skirmishes, although we doubtless had more men in the field than the enemy, we really got the worst of it, for it was but occasionally that we hit a Chin, and we used to have casualties inflicted on us nearly every time that we moved out. Furthermore, we did the Chins but little damage for we could not move at night hampered as we were by the cool corps. The Chins, therefore, never lost sight of us; they always removed their cattle and property at our approach and then burnt the wretched sheds in which they lived. We were never able to stay out more than ten days at a time, and in so short a period could do but little damage to property and could in no way check cultivation. The Chins laughed at us and boasted that they could always keep out of the way of people who were blind at night and who could never move off beaten paths.

The Chin will not willingly risk his life more than he can possibly help. Although we have all admired Siyins at various times who have carried off their wounded comrades in the most plucky manner, and who have crept into camp singly or in pairs and stolen and killed in our very midst, yet as a race Chins are not courageous. Their tactics are the best that can be devised to suit their numbers, their weapons, and their country.

We cannot blame the Chin for not meeting us in the open; he is armed with a flint-lock and we with quick-firing weapons of precision. We cannot expect the Siyins, who have but some 750 men all told, to run risks. On account of the smallness of their numbers they do not fight in large but in small parties. If they see the chance of killing three of us, but believe that they must lose one man in so doing, they will not attempt it, but will wait until they can kill a man without running the slightest risk of losing one of themselves.

The difficulty in Chinland is not due to the Chin, but to the mountains in which he lives. But the Chin is the most exasperating of enemies, for he will silently stalk a party for days awaiting his chance, and then suddenly and when least expected a shot is fired in our midst and word is passed along the line for the doctor.

The Chin almost invariably ambushes from below the path and not as one would expect from above. The reason is sound. The spot has been carefully selected, and after discharging his gun into the back of a man at so close a range as to set fire to his clothes, the Chin slips off his rock and dives down the khud or along the side of the hill, not only out of sight, but usually out of possible line of fire also. When he fires from above he previously makes certain that his line of retreat is protected from our line of fire; for he would not fire and then run uphill exposed to a chance volley in dense jungle or to the aim of a marksman in the open. We have therefore often given a Chin the credit of having done a very plucky thing when in reality it was merely an impertinent action, but one which involved him in no danger whatever.

The Siyin-Nwengal rebellion broke out with truly Kuki suddenness and we were taken by surprise. Although the outbreak resulted in a moral victory, it was, as has been shown in a previous chapter, a heavy blow. The Siyins commenced with a certain dash and endeavoured to make it impossible for us to hold the hills; but owing to the extreme care which they evinced for the safety of their own persons they never caused us the slightest anxiety, although only 60 men were at this time available for column duty.

Troops were quickly hastened to the hills, and the plan of campaign was first to smash all combined opposition, then to break up the columns into several small parties which were placed at many points of vantage in the hills. Large columns then set out and destroyed all the rebel villages and drove the rebels into scattered settlements in the jungle and nullahs.

Meanwhile the rebels vigorously carried out their tactics of ambushing escorts and we lost several men. But we had gained our first point; we had scattered them. We then turned the tables by placing outposts on all the sites of rebel villages, and the officers in command, working in combination or separately, systematically ambushed all paths and cultivations. In short, we took a leaf from the Chin code of warfare, and in a very short time the Chins found that their hidden stores of grain had been discovered and burnt, that they could not move without running into our ambushes, and that any attempt to cultivate involved serious personal risk. Like the Chin conquerors from whom we borrowed these tactics, we found the scheme successful and speedily productive of results. Before the season closed the Siyins and Soktes were disarmed and crippled; for they found that starvation or disarmament stared them in the face and they preferred the latter.

In case of trouble in the Chin Hills a rule which we have adopted in the past is suggested to future Political Officers and Officers Commanding. It is to place yourself in position to ambush instead of being ambushed and attend more to the destruction of grain and to the prevention of all cultivation than to the pursuing of Chins. The weakest point of the Chin is his food-supply. If that is stopped he must give in, where

Outbreak of the Siyin rebellion.

Tactics adopted to suppress the rebellion.

Prevention of cultivation and destruction of food-supply.

as he may escape if he is merely hunted; by stopping it you bring him to you, although he can keep ahead of you when you hunt him.

Besides preventing all cultivation, the small outpost system is excellent for surprising the Chins. Small parties of a dozen rifles or so can move without coolies and incumbrances, and at night. They are free to follow up tracks, to lay ambuscades, and to hunt up nullahs. The Chin cannot keep his eye on all these parties and must necessarily often fall into the traps set for him or allow himself to be surprised in camp.

In 1894 the notorious rebels Kuppow and Kaikam were still at large and it was determined to hunt them down. To effect this several parties were placed in the rebel tract throughout its length, and parties of sepoys carrying two and four days' rations on their backs daily scoured the thick jungle, marching and counter-marching. The rebels, although doing their utmost to evade them, found it impossible to do so, and were continually ambushed whilst on the move, or were tracked to and caught napping in their camps. At last, worn out, dispirited, and half starved, the remnants of the band, including the rebel Chiefs, laid down their arms and surrendered.

In dealing with rebels a Political Officer should be sure to enforce joint responsibility on those villages connected by blood ties with the rebels by stopping their cultivation until they have brought in their relatives. During the 1894 operations Dok Taung was arrested because one of his men was with the rebels. It was notified that Dok Taung's release could only be procured by the surrender of the rebels, and immediately the whole Sokte tribe and Kanhow clan arose and hunted the Siyin rebels with enthusiasm and vigour, not because they hated them, but in order to gain the release of Dok Taung.

Whilst villages have still to be attacked and before the rebels are scattered, the troops have found that it is almost impossible to avoid casualties whilst proceeding against or returning from a village. It is impossible to prevent being ambushed both going to and coming from the objective. But by flanking wide on both sides of the path the danger from ambuscades is minimised, and in order to prevent Chins from slipping round the flankers and firing into the main body at close quarters, it has been found advisable not only for the advance guard to flank, but also the main body and the rear-guard. Eight to ten men flanking on each side of the road have been found ample. The men should be changed frequently as the work is very arduous. They should be taught that the point of the column should never for one moment be in advance of the flankers. After much argument and discussion it has been decided that when Chins fire from ambush the best thing to do is to rush them. They hate being rushed, but they usually keep two or three guns in reserve to fire on the troops as they rush forward. When these are discharged the Chin attempt is over, for they cannot reload in time to fire a second time. The advantage of rushing at an ambuscade is that the Chins pay more attention to effecting their escape than to their aim when they know that they will be rushed. This would not be the case if they knew that their volley would temporarily check the advance of the troops.

When in camp particular care has to be taken that our people are not ambushed at the water-supply. It is a favourite device of the Chins to ambush any one who may creep out of camp in the evening for water, and they also very often

fire on the water piquet when it starts out in the morning to protect our people during the day.

Grey dawn is always a dangerous time for sentries, who are often stalked at this hour. We have often lost men in the early morning who have carelessly wandered outside the piquets for various reasons.

Precautions at early dawn.

If the enemy is taking the offensive, grey dawn is the time to expect heavy volleys, and at any time if the Chins appear to be restless and to be working up for a fight, all small parties should be warned to be on the alert in the early morning. The Chins know well that at this hour a camp is more likely than at other times to be off its guard. Some are still asleep, some are cooking, some are scattered for various reasons, and the sentries naturally feel that their vigilance need not be so strict as during the hours of darkness.

Often we have been attacked at this hour in Chinland, and it was at this time that Lieutenant Stewart of the Leinster Regiment was killed and his party cut up. The men were scattered and the Europeans were either killed in bed or fought in their pyjamas.

Double sentries have been found advisable at night when operating against the Northern Chins and time and labour should always be spent in providing the sentries with as good a shelter as is possible. Yearly we have lost sentries through their own carelessness and neglect of ordinary precautions and ignorance of the cunning of the enemy. A Chin will wriggle up to a sentry on his belly as noiselessly as a snake and shoot him in the back at a distance of a few feet and trust to his nimbleness, to the darkness, and to the momentary surprise to escape the volley which is sent after him. We have all heard of the wonderful way in which the north-west border men can sneak into camp and lift horses, camels, and rifles, and experience has taught us that the Chin is in no way inferior to the Pathan as a thief. We have known of boxes being carried off from beside the head of the owner in his bed, of heads being cut off and carried away in our midst, and of herds of cattle being taken out of the pens in the post and driven through the line of piquets.

In 1889 murder and theft were carried on to such an extent at night that in addition to the abattis and the sentries and the out-lying piquets a system of "tell tales" was invented which consisted of numerous empty kerosine, ghee, and other tins, being connected with strings and strewn round and close to the post. It was expected that the Chins would become entangled in the connecting strings and so rattle the tins and give warning to the sentries. The "tell-tale" system, however, lasted but for a few nights, as every dawn showed that the tins had disappeared, having been carried off under the noses of the sentries by the Chins, who wanted the tins for the sake of converting the solder into bullets.

Spiking a path with bamboo panjies at night is a very excellent plan to keep off thieves for once in a way, but this plan will not answer as a rule, for the Chin will creep up to the panjies, pluck them up, and make his way through bushels of them.

The Chin is certainly a very dangerous individual at night, and luckily he trusts so much to silence that thieves only enter posts singly or in pairs.

But it is most unpleasant to know that any night an enemy can, if he makes up his mind to do so, creep into one's house or tent.

The Chin, as already remarked, is always dangerous when taking the offensive, but falls off when acting on the defensive. In

Naga parties. order to keep him out of camp it has been found best not to put on countless sentries, but to go out and ambush him. A most successful plan is for Gurkhas, naked, except for a dhotie, and armed with their rifles and a dozen rounds, to slip out of camp after dark, in parties of eight or a dozen, and to lie in wait along the paths, or in any likely place for the coming of the Chins. These little parties are commonly called "Naga parties," and they have on many occasions ambushed and killed Chins who otherwise would undoubtedly have killed our sentries or stolen from inside the posts. At the commencement of the fighting in 1892-93 the Chins invariably volleyed into camp at night and we occasionally lost men and animals; but the Gurkhas soon stopped this, for as soon as it was dark, they slipped out of camp and stalked the Chins, who had taken up well-selected positions and who only expected answering volleys from camp after every volley which they fired.

Once at Môtók a large party of Chins took up a very safe position on a ridge and volleyed into camp at 300 yards distance from the opposite side of a khud. It was found that the piquets could not dislodge them, so 15 Gurkhas under a jemadar slipped out of camp and crept up to within 20 yards and almost simultaneously with the Chin volley fired into the camp, the Gurkhas' volley crashed into them, killing three. After this the Siyins tried no more to stalk us at night, for they did not relish being stalked themselves as they found that the Gurkhas could do.

The formation of the mountains is such that only one in every 50 camps is sound from a military point of view as it is impossible to camp on the peaks, and the sides of the hills are always commanded by some ridges, knolls, and hills. **Piquets on points of vantage.** Military Officers found that to prevent the Chins from taking possession of these points of vantage it was necessary to hold them ourselves; for although Afghans would certainly cut off and cut up these somewhat isolated piquets, Chins dare not do so and therefore the men are safe enough. It was found that the Chins, who do not mind entering a camp and then escaping through the sentries, do not like running the risk of being cut off by piquets placed a considerable distance from the camp, which would be warned by firing at the camp if Chins were detected in it.

It is practically impossible to disguise from the enemy where the piquets are placed, as they sit on the hill-tops and note everything in the day time, and at night they move round the camp, firing from time to time in order to draw the fire of the piquets, and thus learn their positions. But the enemy's knowledge of the position of the piquets is of no consequence, as they are afraid to cut them up. The piquets save the camp from being fired into, and, if the Chins elude the piquets and come unpleasantly close, Naga parties can soon clear them off. **Buckshot for sentries.** Buckshot for sentries has been found effective at night in the camp and in the posts.

When attacking a village officers should remember that the paths lead to

Gateways not to be attacked. the village gates and that the Chin village gateways are always the most strongly fortified of all the defences of the village; therefore it should be a rule, unless guns

accompany the party, to effect an entrance at any point except by the gateway. In no circumstances should troops enter villages by the sunken paths and underground tunnels which are the regular entrances into many villages, especially in the Yahow country and in the independent south.

In conclusion, the Chin has so far proved himself a dangerous enemy when taking the offensive, but when acting on the defensive he quickly loses heart and the real way to defeat him is to ambush him and stop all cultivation.

